

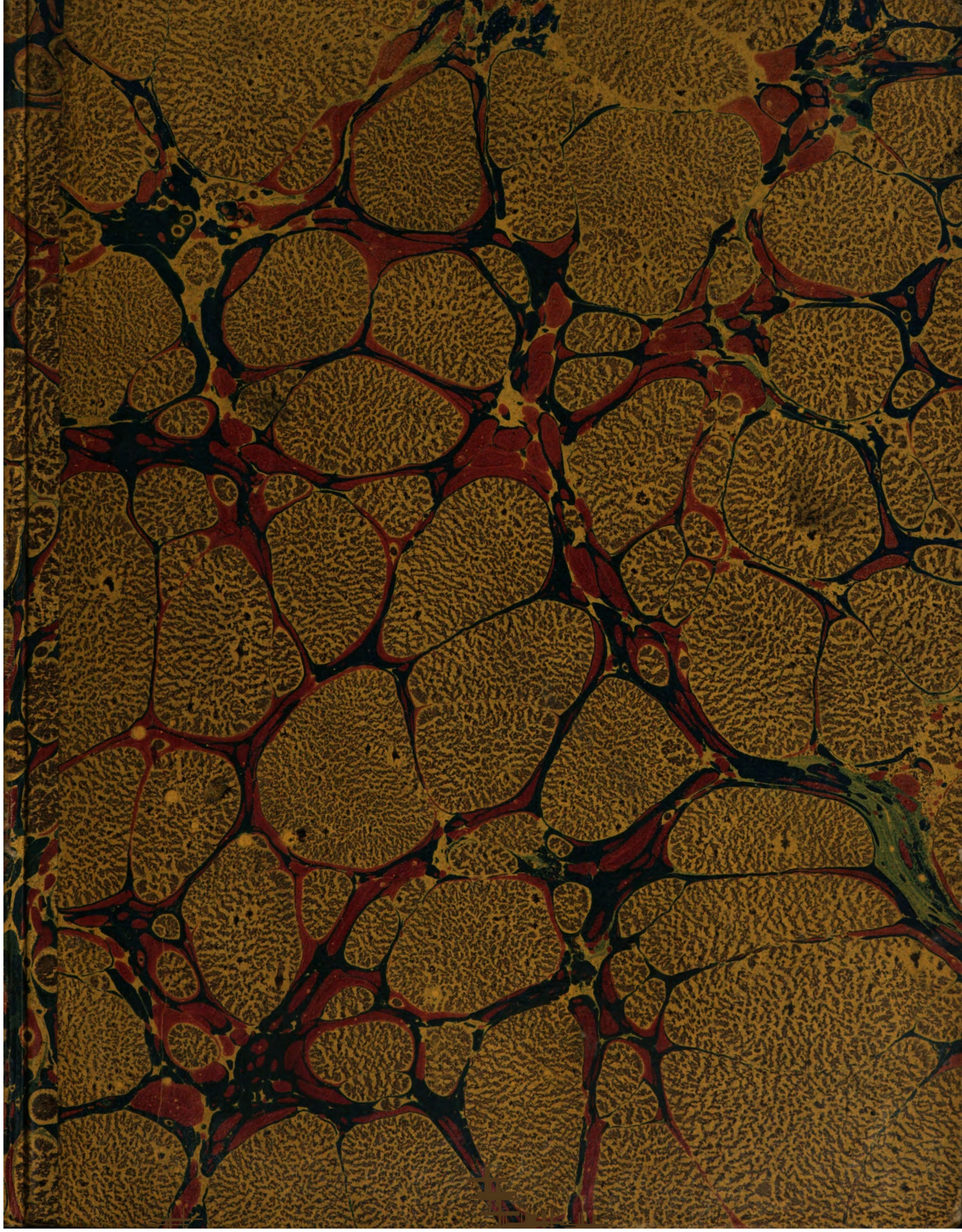
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MEMOIRS, &c.

VOL. II.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1829.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF EUROPE

FROM THE

PEACE OF NIMPHET
MEMOIRS, &c.

LONDON:

J. MOYES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

VOL. II.

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LONDON

ST. MARTIN'S LANE STREET.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
AFFAIRS OF EUROPE
FROM THE
PEACE OF UTRECHT.

BY
LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

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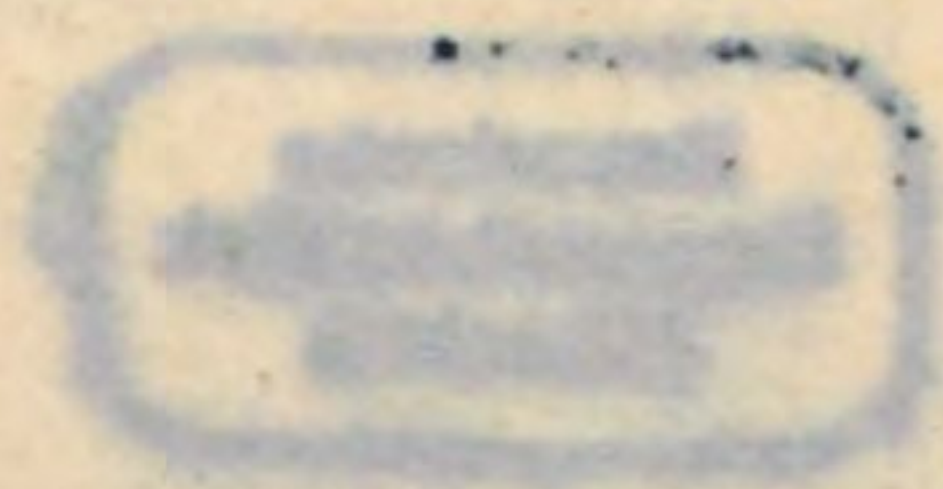
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MEMOIRS

OF

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE

FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

BOOK THE THIRD.

MEMOIRS

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE

BOOK THE THIRD

CHAPTER I.

Affairs from the Death of the Regent of France to the War of the Austrian Succession. State of Europe. Abdication of Philip the Fifth. Congress of Cambray. Ripperda. Polish Election. War of 1733. War of Russia and Austria against Turkey. Disputes between England and Spain. Declaration of War. Hostilities in South America. Anson's Voyage.

THE rise and decline of empires is a subject equally fitted to strike the fancy of the poet, to employ the labour of the historian, and to occupy the thought of the philosopher. Some of the most affecting and sublime passages of human eloquence have been called forth by a theme, which, on the one side, presents us with all that man has performed most glorious and most ennobling; while, on the other, it gives us a melancholy picture of the vanity of his greatest works. Cities and towers fall to the ground; a dominion which forms the pride of one generation excites the pity of another.* But ours is a more sober task.

* See the famous letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero, and Tasso's beautiful imitation of it:—

Giace l' alta Cartago; appena i segni
Dell' alte sue ruine il lido serba.
Muojono le città, muojono i regni:
Copre i fasti, e le pompe arena ed erba:
E l' uom d' esser mortal par che si sdegni.
Oh nostra mente cupida e superba!

Generally speaking, a state or country is seen to flourish when its members are moved by passions which require a common effort, and are directed to the common benefit. Freedom, commerce, conquest, love of glory, dominion of the seas, planting of colonies,—such are the most usual objects of rising and prosperous states. Each has one or more of these objects peculiar to itself, which form, as it were, its principle of life. Thus the spirit of Rome was formed of love of freedom and love of conquest; the spirit of Holland, of love of freedom and of commerce. So long as this spirit continues unabated, and has room to gratify itself, the state flourishes. It may exist in an absolute monarchy, as well as in a free state, but seldom endures; because the law of hereditary succession may change the spirit of the nation, at any moment, from activity to indolence, from conquest to pusillanimity.

The decline of a state takes place in a similar manner when a passion tending to a common purpose, is exchanged for others aiming solely at the enjoyment of the individual, to be advanced by individual and selfish means. Thus, when, owing to the corruption of their manners and institutions, the Romans grew to love their villas and their feasts better than war, their luxury, (revenging the conquered world,) prepared the fall of the empire. Other causes of decline may be found in laws or institutions which check national energy; for instance, the Inquisition of Spain. Or, lastly, a state may be outgrown by its neighbours. We often see, in a plantation, that a quick-growing tree for a time overtops and shades its fellows; but when it has reached its maturity, a plant of

loftier nature equals, surpasses, and at length carries away from it sun and moisture. Like to this is the figure which we see made in history by countries which owe to the early maturity of their laws a superiority they cannot finally preserve. Sparta and Athens commanded the civilised world, till Philip united his Macedonians under a compact and orderly government. In modern times, the states of Italy once maintained larger regular armies, and had more copious treasuries, than England or France; but when the government of these kingdoms became settled, the small Italian republics fell into insignificance.

In the course of the seventeenth century, all the nations of Europe, except Italy and Spain, made great progress in the arts of government and civil life; consequently new states sprung up, and the balance of power was altered by the decline of some countries and the rise of others. It may be useful to take, from the place where we now stand, a short view of the principal powers; and convenient to class them as the declining, the stationary, and the rising.

State of
Europe.

The republic of Venice, the link between ancient and modern history, was declining rapidly at this period. The order and regularity of her government giving force and effect to the activity of her commerce, had caused this singular city to flourish, when the benefits of justice and internal peace were unknown to the feudal monarchies of Europe. The same advantages had for a long time made her sway popular on the continent of Italy, where the people rallied to the cry of St. Mark, against the tyranny of their provincial nobles.* When, however, the benefits

Venice.

* See Muratori, Annali d' Italia.

of order and commerce became more general, Venice sunk in importance: the discovery of a new passage to India, and the increase of the maritime force of England, France, and Spain, at length reduced her to insignificance. In this position, the cautious statesmen of Venice sought safety in a passive neutrality. Her timid policy, however, did not preserve her from the most flagrant insults during the great war which signalised the commencement of the eighteenth century. On the one side, Prince Eugene did not scruple to take by assault a fort guarded by Venetian troops; on the other hand, the French paid little respect to the flag of the republic. In this humiliating situation, the despotic aristocracy of the Lagune shewed no resentment; and the descent of the republic grew more rapid as it proceeded. The public creditor was left unpaid for six or seven years together;* morals, never very virtuous, sunk to the vilest degree; and the Venetian nobles, once famed for their wisdom and their fortitude, now planned nothing further than a love intrigue, and shewed no spirit but in taking vengeance on a rival.

Holland.

Holland, though less advanced in her descent, was in a similar position. The expenses of the Succession War, amounting to three hundred and fifty millions of florins, and the large accumulations of her public debt, induced her principal statesmen to exchange the activity and enterprise which, ever since her separation from Spain, had characterised her policy, for a more sober and less splendid system of inoffensive moderation. "But this moderation

* Daru, Hist. de Venise.

itself," says a modern writer, "might become a source of great danger to a state which had voluntarily placed herself in the first rank: from the time that she ceased to keep up her military force, she declined insensibly, and lost, little by little, her importance in the eyes of the sovereigns and nations of Europe."* Thus we see an example of the progress of decline in Europe;—over-exertion in war leads to private distress and public inaction;—a long peace and a consciousness of timidity relax all the fibres of courage and patriotism, till by degrees the nation loses, as it were, its vital energy,—the cohesion of its parts ceases, and the mass crumbles to pieces.

A question here occurs to an observer of the rise and decline of nations. Holland, by the freedom of her institutions, and by commerce, which is the attendant of freedom, had gained a station in Europe far above her physical and geographical importance. She had enjoyed this power to the utmost. Spain, her old tyrant, was reduced to subject herself to many hard conditions in favour of Dutch commerce. The minister of foreign affairs of Lewis the Fourteenth had knocked at the door of the Dutch pensionary to implore peace for his master. She had burdened her finances by these efforts, and made herself unequal to carry on a similar contest in a similar manner. At this point a doubt arises, whether it would not have been better for her independence, to have asserted herself at all hazards, rather than to have fallen insensibly into a state of contempt. The worst that could have happened to her in the struggle could not have been more painful, and would have been

* Heeren, Manuel Historique. Paris, 1821.

less degrading, than the slow and gradual extinction of her energies. Why did she not take this spirited course? The answer is, that any violent effort to maintain her influence abroad would have brought on a convulsion at home. The increase of taxes would have led to a bankruptcy, and, with the credit of the state, the ancient aristocratical authorities would probably have been overturned. It was, therefore, the interest of the governors of Holland to keep things quiet, to temporise with every difficulty, and to elude any bold resolution.

Denmark.

Of the northern powers, Denmark and Sweden must likewise be placed among those whose importance was on the decline. The Danish navy was still remarkable for the skilful construction of its ships, and the hardy valour of its sailors; but the king received a subsidy from England, on condition of furnishing 6000 troops when required, which reduced him, so long as he received it, to a political dependance on Great Britain.

Sweden.

Sweden had lost the best portion of her power by the rash ambition of Charles the Twelfth. Upon his death the nobles having gained the ascendancy, excluded the Duke of Holstein, and conferred the crown on Ulrica Eleonora, the youngest sister of Charles: she immediately resigned it to her husband, Frederic, prince of Hesse Cassel, who was not allowed to reign till he had ratified the new institutions, which converted the government into an aristocracy. The diet was to meet only every three years; but a permanent and secret committee, consisting of one hundred members, always subsisted. The disposal of all employments was given to the senate, where, as well as in the states, the grossest corruption prevailed. In 1721

Sweden signed the treaty of Nystadt, which formally reduced her to insignificance. By this peace she yielded Livonia and Esthonia, with part of Ingria and Finland, to Russia; Stettin, and a great part of Pomerania, to Prussia; the duchies of Bremen and Werden, to Hanover. The loss of Livonia especially, the province from which she drew her supplies of corn, made the subsistence of her people precarious.

Among the powers which at this time were sinking, Spain. or, at best, stationary, we may place Spain. The lowest point of her decline, indeed, had been during the indolent reign of Charles the Second. It is true, likewise, that from the commencement of the Succession War she had begun to improve, both in wealth and in the discipline of her military and naval force;* but she moved at so very dignified a pace, that, in comparison with the rest of Europe, her progress was imperceptible, and she appeared to be standing still. So low, indeed, had she been brought by the religious tyranny to which she had been subjected, and the consequent degradation of her kings, that she could descend no further; nor would it have been difficult, by removing the trammels which obstructed all thought and action, to have made a title to the gratitude of future ages. But Philip the Fifth, though he came of a more stirring race, and from a less bigoted country, brought none of the qualities that men expected to find in him: he was grave, cold, melancholy, and silent, without imagination, without energy, meanly and timidly super-

* Jovellanos, Informe.

stitious. Brave in the field of battle, kind and generous to those about him, with considerable powers of conversation:—all these qualities were rendered useless by his indifference, his extreme shyness, and his implicit obedience to his wife. His days were past in the most regular monotony; with no society but that of the queen, and nothing like diversion but the regular ceremony of shooting the tame animals which the peasantry drove before him.* He was vain and fond of praise, indeed; but all his notions of government were a servile copy of what he had seen in France. In pursuance of these ideas, he fancied, when he had increased the army and navy, founded an academy of the Spanish language, and talked in lofty terms of his power, that he had acquired the glory of Lewis the Fourteenth. Another notion, still more fatal, which he borrowed from others, was, that by excluding the commerce and manufactures of England, he should bring commerce and manufactures to Spain. Even these schemes, narrow as they were, he had not strength of mind to follow out. Except when he was in the hands of some projector, who promised to cure all the evils of the state with a nostrum, he was liable to fall into fits of melancholy, amounting almost to insanity. He would remain for weeks together without reading a paper, without shaving his beard, almost without speaking. Suddenly, upon the prospect of the death of his nephew, he would dress, resume his cheerfulness, and dream of inheriting the crown of France. To the day of his death, his affec-

* See the account of his day in St. Simon, vol. vii. p. 202, &c.

tions, his hopes, his objects, were all in the country of his birth.* In such hands were placed, without limit, without control, the fortunes of ten millions of people in Spain, and the greater portion of the New World. On his dominions the sun never set,—in his mind a ray of understanding scarcely ever beamed.

Austria, under the ancient house of Hapsburg, was at this time stationary, if not stagnant. The vigour of the race appeared to be worn out, and the reigning princes were like modern Romans,—proud from a tradition of greatness, but destitute of the qualities by which that greatness had been acquired. A want of talent and energy in the successors of Charles the Fifth, the sleep and sloth of a confirmed despotism, with much of that bigotry which infected the councils of Spain, gave an air of listlessness and languor to the fair inheritance of the second monarchy of Europe. Her finances laboured, her army scarcely exceeded 60,000 men; and while France, England, and the north of Germany, glittered with constellations of scientific and literary genius, Austria lay buried in darkness. The inert force, however, of her large and fertile dominions, with the warlike spirit of her peasantry, contributed to maintain a great power, which might at a future time be called forth.

France had now for some time remained stationary. Lewis the Fourteenth had placed her at the head of Europe, but had not reserved the means for keeping her there;—he had built, as it were, a vast palace, but left

* St. Simon, vol. vii. Coxe, Mem. Kings of Spain.

his heir without the means sufficient to live in it. With such a country, peace was a necessity; but her court was too corrupt to make any other use of peace than to indulge in luxury and vice. The character of her young king began to display itself; indolence, selfishness, and timidity, were its basis: he was sometimes generous, more frequently forbearing, never virtuous. He found the finances overburdened, the marine ruined, the army losing its spirit and reputation;—he did not seek to restore them: a minister who brought him plans of improvement fatigued and annoyed him. Future opportunities will occur of sketching this prince's portrait: at present it is sufficient to say, that he abandoned without a sigh that tone of dictation which his grandfather had never resigned, but with tears, amid the flight of his armies, and the terror of his councils.

England.

Among the powers which had risen, and were still rising in importance, the first place is due to England. From the Revolution of 1688, she had been recovering from the disgraceful position in which Charles the Second had placed her, and acquiring the weight which belongs to a hardy, brave, industrious, and free people. The Succession War, of which the direct object, if gained, would hardly have realised the expectations of its authors, was yet of immense value to England, in consolidating her institutions, and in giving her rank among the states of Europe. Adverse powers were willing to let sleep in the scabbard the sword which they had seen wielded with such powerful effect at Blenheim and Ramilies. Let us add to this, that since the Revolution, likewise, England had established a system

of public credit, which, begun and sketched out by the masterly ability of Montague, was now fostered and improved by the clear and skilful judgment of Walpole. Thus augmenting in reputation and resources, she had likewise reaped all the advantage of the decisive battle of La Hogue.* She now took the place of Holland in maritime superiority and commercial credit, with a vast advantage over that power in military prowess and extent of territory. The small number, not to say insignificance of her army, did not make her voice less decisive among the powers of Europe; for it was well known, that with a superior fleet, she could convey her forces to any point that might be threatened by an enemy, or which she might chuse to make an object of attack. Her only weakness, the recent establishment and uncertain possession of the dynasty upon the throne, was converted into a source of strength by the firmness of the Whig party. Never before had Great Britain obtained that influence in the affairs of Europe which she now held.

A power of vast rising importance, but entirely new Russia. in the scheme of Europe, was Russia. For her place in the history of the eighteenth century, she is indebted to Peter the Great. He no doubt merited that epithet, which Peter the Great. has been ratified by posterity. The road which he pursued

* The political importance of the battle of La Hogue was well illustrated by a Dutch medal. Lewis the Fourteenth, when he had brought his navy to its most flourishing condition, struck a medal, with the inscription, *Imperium pelagi*. After La Hogue, the Dutch answered this boast by another medal, representing the French ships flying, and the words, *Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro, non illi IMPERIUM PELAGI.*

had never before been attempted: his conceptions were daring, and he executed them with that perseverance without which all genius is unavailing. It was both singular and fortunate, that he united in his character much of the roughness of the barbarian with a perfect appreciation of all the advantages of art and science. Had he been merely a man of superior mind, whose studies had led him to the knowledge of all that is excellent in civilised life, he might have left memorials of his acquirements; he might have been lauded by historians as a man of extraordinary merit; but he would probably have had little influence upon his countrymen, and even, like Alonso the Wise, have been reproached with wasting his kingdom upon earth, while he occupied himself in observing the heavens. But the iron character of Peter, his savage strength of soul, his merciless resolution and unfeeling constancy, were as well fitted to inspire barbarians with respect, as his love of knowledge and desire of excellence were calculated to move civilised nations to esteem and admiration.

It may be said, that Peter commenced his task of improvement at the wrong end; that instead of employing his chief labour in making his people sailors and soldiers, he ought to have first introduced the arts, amended the laws, and improved the social condition of his subjects. But although, perhaps, the Czar listened, in this respect, more to personal ambition than a well-judged love of mankind, yet it does not appear that his conduct deserves either censure or regret. Had the Russians been like the ancient Greeks, it would have been sufficient to have pointed out to them the useful or noble inventions with which he was

acquainted, and to have trusted to their own ingenuity for their continual progress and everlasting gratitude. But the subjects of the Czar, in lieu of original genius and a free spirit, had only the power of imitation and servile obedience. It was wise and prudent, therefore, in him, both as a philosopher and a sovereign, to teach them first the arts which would make them formidable as a state, to place them thus in relation with the rest of Europe, and to leave to that connexion the task of softening their manners and opening their minds.

Peter, however, be it recollected, did not neglect this part of his great enterprise: but it is not in the power of one man to raise up in his country poets and painters as he can raise generals and ministers; there are talents which the frost of tyranny may kill, but the hot-house of patronage cannot rear.

Prussia was another rising state, of the first importance; but the war for the succession of the house of Austria will give us so much better an occasion for describing her, that for the present it may be deferred.

One principality remains, which might have been placed on the list of the declining states; but the fall of the papal power belongs to other causes than those which influence mere temporal greatness. The dominion of Rome was a dominion over the mind; and in proportion to the advance of light and knowledge, was her influence weakened and undermined. The thunders of the Vatican had lost their terror; the excommunication of princes was now a despised and pointless weapon. If Rome still

received tribute from many states, it was as a mendicant friar receives alms—more from compassion than respect.

We may now resume our narrative.

Duke of
Bourbon.

The place of prime minister of France, left vacant by the Duke of Orleans, was immediately filled by the Duke of Bourbon. His rank as a prince of the blood, the conspicuous situation in which he had been placed by the Duke of Orleans, and the good offices of Fleury, the preceptor, served to recommend him to a post, for which, by his want of honour, decency, and morality, he was eminently disqualified. His manners were harsh, his hatreds bitter, his avarice shameless, his licentiousness unbounded. The only use he made of his power was to place France at the disposal of his mistress, Madame de Prie, the wife of the French minister at Turin. She was a person of singular grace, beautiful figure, agreeable talents, and extreme vice: as unfaithful to her lover as to her husband, she had yet the skill to conceal her infidelities from the duke, who was desperately and blindly devoted to her.

There is nothing worthy of praise in the history of this administration. It will readily be believed, that corruption and venality flourished more than ever. A regular price, it is said, was named for all important offices, and a candidate for the favours of the government had only to pay Madame de Prie a sum of money to obtain any employment he might desire.

The few measures of internal policy adopted during this administration, will find a place in a later portion of our history.

The accession of Philip the Fifth to the quadruple alliance, although it terminated the war, was far from bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the differences which had occasioned it. The emperor demanded that the renunciation by Philip of his Italian dominions should be confirmed by the Cortes,—a condition deemed perfectly inadmissible by the King of Spain. Philip, on his side, required that the renunciation by the emperor of the sovereignty of Spain and the Indies should be ratified by the states of the empire,—a request evidently unreasonable, since the states of the empire had never claimed any sovereignty over the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. He further insisted, that the emperor should cease to confer the order of the Golden Fleece. For the removal of these, and all other difficulties, a congress was appointed to meet at Cambray; but, in the mean time, a convention was signed at Paris between France and England, by which those two powers agreed to consider the renunciations valid, in spite of any defects in form. Other obstacles to a settled peace arose on the subject of the investiture of the duchies. While Philip insisted on an unconditional investiture, and the substitution of Spanish for Swiss troops in the garrisons, the emperor secretly excited the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Parma to oppose the execution of the treaty.

A difficulty of another kind arose between Spain and England. Philip the Fifth, deprived of the external dominions of his crown in Europe, was peculiarly mortified at the possession by England of Gibraltar and Minorca, which

Negotiations.

Discussions
concerning
Gibraltar.

June 1st,
1721.

he termed, not unaptly, "the thorns in his feet."* During the negotiations which preceded the fall of Alberoni, the Regent of France had promised, that if Philip would accede to the wishes of the alliance, Gibraltar should be restored to him. Philip had caught eagerly at this bait; he proclaimed to the Spanish nation, that he was about to afford them this compensation for the many losses of dominion which had attended his accession to their crown; and in every negotiation with the ministry of England, he earnestly insisted upon the promise of the regent, of which he required the immediate execution. The English government was much embarrassed by his pertinacity. The king and his ministers were not unwilling to yield Gibraltar, more especially if they could obtain Florida, or the Spanish part of Hispaniola, in exchange. In this temper of mind, George the First, upon the prospect of peace, had been advised to write a letter to the King of Spain, in which he said, "I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand relating to Gibraltar, promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this matter, with the consent of my parliament."† Philip concluded peace, in reliance upon this promise. But he had overlooked the essential clause, "with the consent of my parliament;" and when the English ministry, aware of the temper of the nation, informed him that the cession of Gibraltar was impossible, he complained loudly of the violation of a condition,

* Coxe, Kings of Spain.

† Tindal.

without which he would not have signed the quadruple alliance. This subject was renewed in our subsequent disputes with Spain, and caused several debates in the House of Commons. It must be owned, that Philip had reason to complain: the terms of the king's letter were such as his advisers were not justified in using; although the original offer of yielding Gibraltar seems to have been sincere.* The negotiation still continued, when a singular event happened at Madrid. 1724.

In the beginning of the year 1724, Philip the Fifth suddenly declared his intention to resign his crown, and in a few days completed his purpose. Taking with him only a small part of his household, so small that even his hunting establishment was omitted, he retired to San Ildefonso, otherwise known by the name of La Granja. This palace is situated on the north side of the mountains which divide Old from New Castile, forming a strong contrast to the Escorial, which is on the south side of the same mountains. While the Escorial, in gloomy grandeur, frowns over an arid territory, the cheerful aspect of San Ildefonso rises among low hills covered with trees, and refreshed by numerous streams of water. In the immediate neigh-

January 10,
1724.
Abdication
of Philip the
Fifth.

* "We have made a motion in parliament relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, to pass a bill, for the purpose of leaving to the king the power of disposing of that fortress, for the advantage of his subjects. You cannot imagine the ferment which the proposal produced. The public was roused with indignation, on the simple suspicion that, at the close of a successful war, so unjustly begun by Cardinal Alberoni, we should cede that fortress."—*Earl Stanhope to Sir L. Schaub, March 28, 1720.* — *Kings of Spain, c. xxxi.* *Life of Sir R. Walpole, c. xxxiv.*

1724. bourhood are the succulent pastures where the Merino sheep feed, and are shorn; at a short distance is the city of Segovia, renowned for its admirable Roman aqueduct, and its Gothic castle, better known to romance than to history. Here Philip had expended immense sums, not only in building a palace, but likewise in making fountains to imitate Versailles; and it must be confessed, that La Granja, inferior in size and grandeur, far surpassed its model in beauty and agreeable variety. Here the king retired, at the age of thirty-nine, with an ambitious and worldly queen of thirty-one, leaving the throne to a son in his seventeenth, and a daughter-in-law in her sixteenth year. His renunciation of greatness was, to all appearance, total and unqualified: in the act of abdication he required nothing more than the regular payment of a pension of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly. A letter which he wrote to his son contained pious exhortations on the duties of a Christian, and some directions for the worship of the Virgin, but none for the government of a kingdom.

Causes of
that event.

This singular act naturally excited astonishment, and politicians wearied themselves in conjectures upon the cause of it. Some attributed it to the imbecility, others to the deep policy, of the king; some to the ambitious jealousy of the grandees, some to the culpable advice of the confessor. Facts which have since come to light, enable us, in some degree, to clear up the mystery. It appears, by the concurrent testimony of the best-informed persons, that Philip, subject to a constitutional melancholy, was tormented by scruples with respect to his right to the crown; that he had

even meditated abandoning the throne to his competitor, the archduke; that these scruples had been combated and overcome by his former confessors, Robinet and D'Aubenton; but that their successor, Bermudez, had indulged him in the notion, that the title, which was faulty in him, would be valid in his son. It appears, likewise, that Philip, at once scrupulous and indolent, was much harassed by the details of daily business; and that, far from intending to retire altogether from power, he dictated from Valsain not only the principal measures of government, but likewise the distribution of places and rewards.* For this purpose, Grimaldo, his most trusty minister, retired with him to San Ildefonso; and the office of secretary for foreign affairs was given to Don Juan Bautista Orendayn, the principal clerk of the office. When Marshal Tessé, the new ambassador from the court of France, stopped at San Ildefonso on his way to Madrid, Grimaldo said to him, "The king is not dead, nor am I."†

1724.

This mode of government could not fail to be highly inconvenient. Accordingly, the new ministers soon began to resent the interference of Philip; they even went so far

* "Todavía quedaba en Valsain el oraculo, no solo para las cosas mas principales pero aun para las mercedes."—*San Phelipe*, anno 1724.

† Mémoires de Tessé, tom. ii. p. 352.—In this account of the motives of the King of Spain, I have adopted the opinion of San Phelipe. Mr. Coxe thinks that Philip abdicated in order to rise again on the throne of France. In his eagerness to prove this point, he presses into the service an illness of Lewis the Fifteenth in February, to account for the abdication of Philip in January. There is reason in the remark of San Phelipe, that the possession of one crown did not hinder his claiming the other. See likewise St. Simon and Duclos, for the character of Philip.

1724. as to propose a diminution of his pension; and although Lewis would not listen to so harsh a measure, yet, in other matters, he was glad to shew that he wore the crown. Marshal Tessé himself declared, that this farce of "king and no king" could not long continue; and probably these dissensions might have led to some public rupture, had not the young king died of the small-pox, after a reign of eight months. During this time he had made himself greatly acceptable to the grandees by his popular manners; and to the ministry by his attention to business, combined with a proper deference for their opinion. Indeed, during his short reign, he had committed no fault of importance; unless it be reckoned one, that, with the vivacity of a school-boy, he had sallied forth at night to see the town, and had stolen the fruit from his own gardens, that he might enjoy the surprise of the gardeners the next morning.* His chief anxiety arose from the conduct of his wife, who, without any decided gallantry, was more gay and frolicsome than became a queen of Spain. But what girl of fifteen would submit, unless by force, to the tiresome ceremonial of the Spanish court?

September.
Death of
Lewis the
First.

The conduct of Philip, upon hearing of the danger of his son, was marked by his usual weakness. He ordered a will to be presented to Lewis for his signature, restoring the crown to himself; this will was signed by the prince when in a delirium; and, upon his death, Philip entered Madrid with the insignia and guards of royalty. Thinking it necessary, however, to consult a junta of divines on the

* Kings of Spain, c. xxxiv.

propriety of his resuming the crown, they replied, to his great surprise and mortification, that he could not violate the vow he had made; but that he might exercise the regency in the name of his son Ferdinand. Philip was so confounded, that he determined to return to San Ildefonso; but the queen, of a more manly temper, burst forth in invectives against the Jesuit Bermudez, to whom she imputed the decision. She called him a traitor, a Judas, and declared that, were she in the agonies of death, she would rather die without sacraments than receive them from so wicked a man. The *assafeta*, improving upon the passion of the queen, made a violent apostrophe to the king himself, which made him turn pale with fear or anger. "Hold your tongue," exclaimed the queen, "you will kill the king." "What does that signify?" answered the virago, "if he dies, it is only one man the less; but if he quits the throne, his people, his children, and his kingdom, are ruined."* To complete the effect of these domestic scenes, the queen brought into play, first, the council of Castile, who spoke in behalf of the public safety; and, secondly, the papal nuncio, who, with a hardy conscience, told Philip he would take upon himself, before God, all the guilt incurred by the violation of his vow. Upon this, the scrupulous monarch no longer hesitated, and, much to the displeasure of the nobility, resumed the crown.†

Philip resumes the crown.

The first consequences of his resumed authority were curious and important. The Congress of Cambray, after many delays, had at length met; but their discussions

Congress of Cambray.

* Journal de Villars.

† San Phelipe. Coxe.

1724.

seemed interminable, and the time was consumed between futile proposals and mutual feasting. In the long-pending disputes on the subject of Italy, the King of Spain required that Mantua, Mirandola, and other places, which had been united to his dominion by the emperor, should be restored to their former masters, and that the boundary between the Austrian territory and the Duchy of Parma should be strictly defined. The Austrian court had very different views: no longer valuing the sovereignty of the Netherlands, cramped as it was by the barrier treaty, the attention of the emperor was turned towards the aggrandisement of his family in Italy, from which country he drew large, and seemingly inexhaustible, supplies.* At the same time, he developed two other projects, which caused much speculation and alarm. By the first of these, with a view to compensate for the restrictions on commerce, to which he had been obliged to submit by the barrier treaty, he created a company at Ostend, with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East and West Indies. The maritime powers, especially Holland, exclaimed against this act, as a violation of the most solemn engagements. By the fifth article of the treaty of Munster, the trade to the Indies was granted to Holland, to the

* San Phelipe, who was a native of Sardinia, says, with the feeling at once of an Italian and a Spaniard, that Italy was, to the emperor, "the apple of his eyes, and his inexhaustible Indies, since through Italy flowed the money of Spain, which made a regular circuit to Germany, gathered from the Italians, not only by open contributions, which the emperor required at pleasure, but by the dependency of all Italy on that court, where the money always stopt." — *San Phelipe*, year 1724.

exclusion of the Netherlands; and it was laid down in the treaty of Utrecht, that the possessor of the Netherlands should abide by the obligations of the King of Spain.* Although right in the argument, however, and justified by the letter of treaties, the maritime powers would have done better if they had renounced advantages which could not be carried into effect without exciting a hostile spirit in the nation which submitted to them. Indeed, it frequently happens, that the positive advantages of a treaty are more than counterbalanced by the animosity they provoke in the party which is bound by unjust or humiliating conditions.

1724.

The other subject which excited attention and discussion, was the pragmatic sanction. In 1713, Charles the Sixth, desiring to provide for the greatness of his house, had laid down a rule, that the whole of his hereditary possessions should pass entire; first to his male heirs, then in succession to his daughters, and failing these, to the daughters of his brother Joseph. At the time of making this disposition he had no children; he had afterwards a son, who died a year after his birth, and three daughters. The consent of his nieces being first obtained, Charles now settled his dominions upon the eldest of these daughters, and published this disposition under the name of the law of the pragmatic sanction.

Such was the state of affairs, when a new actor appeared on the scene, and became the instrument of forming an extraordinary and unexpected alliance.

* Rousset, Recueil d'Actes, &c.

1724.
Baron
Ripperda.

John William, Baron Ripperda was descended from a noble family of Spain, which had settled in the lordship of Groningen, in Holland, during the dependence of that country on the Spanish crown. Ripperda entered the army in the war of the succession, and rose to the rank of colonel; while, at the same time, he so successfully studied trade, finance, and foreign languages, that, in 1715, he was appointed by the Dutch government as their envoy to Madrid, to settle the important questions of commerce then pending between the two states. At Madrid he laid the groundwork of his future fortunes with more ability than honesty. He received, when thus employed, a salary from Holland, a pension from the emperor, a present from England, and a bribe from Spain.* Attaching himself to the fortunes of Alberoni, he suggested commercial plans to that enterprising but ignorant minister. When, however, encouraged by the rise of his patron, and inflamed with the view of a country so rich in resources, and so poor in statesmen, he aimed at an independent rank, Alberoni, who wished for no colleague, urged his religion as an obstacle to his advancement. Quickly surmounting this difficulty, Ripperda made a solemn abjuration of his faith, and received the direction of the cloth manufactory of Guadalaxara. From this post, insufficient as it was to his ambition, Alberoni contrived to displace him; but Ripperda watched the enemy, and predicted the failure which afterwards attended his plans. The queen was struck by this proof of sagacity of Ripperda; and during the abdication,

* Kings of Spain.

(which for a time defeated his views,) he was her secret and confidential adviser. Immediately upon the restoration, he presented projects, in which he largely drew upon the credulity of the king and queen. By means of commercial restrictions, and a new arrangement of the trade to the Indies, Spain was to become at once a flourishing, maritime, commercial, and manufacturing state; she was to support an army of 100,000 foot and 30,000 horse, a fleet of 100 men-of-war, and to produce a surplus revenue of 2,000,000 of crowns yearly; above all, the commerce of England was to be ruined in two years. As the first step to this sudden revolution, an alliance was to be formed with the emperor, whose subjects were to be favoured in their commerce and manufactures, in order to destroy England and the native country of the projector.

1724.

Philip was struck, and his queen completely captivated, with these plans. With their authority, Ripperda, pretending to make a journey for the improvement of his manufactory of cloth, set off for Germany, and arrived in November at Vienna, where he assumed the name of Baron Pfaffenburg, and kept his destination a profound secret. He held nightly conferences, however, with Count Sinzendorf, the imperial chancellor, who was commissioned to treat with him.* His presence was known only to the emperor, Sinzendorf, and the Marquess of Realp. The difficulties in the way of Ripperda were many and great; but two circumstances levelled them. One of these was the rapacity and corruption of the Austrian ministers, who,

Sent to
Vienna,
Nov. 1724.

* House of Austria.

1725. with the exception of Prince Eugene, all accepted the money of Spain: it is said that 570,000 pistoles were distributed in this manner.* The other favourable circumstance was an event which occurred at the court of France.

The Infanta of Spain rejected by France.

The Duke of Bourbon, who still held the title of prime minister, was an open enemy of the Duke of Orleans, son of the regent, and feared, above all things, his succession to the crown. The king was now fifteen, and, with a wife of his own age, a son might soon be expected; whereas the infanta was yet only eight years old. These considerations disquieted the mind of the minister, and were ripened by a dangerous illness of the king. One night the Duke of Bourbon was so alarmed, that he left his bed, and went to the king's room to inquire into his progress: the surgeon in waiting heard him say, as he returned, "What will become of me? I will not be caught again; if he recovers, I must have him married."†

Mar. 1725.

The mode of carrying his determination into effect was characteristic of the violent and uncourteous temper of this prince. The return of the infanta was publicly announced, and, at the same time, letters communicating the resolution, were sent to the Abbé Livry, the French envoy at Lisbon, who was ordered to proceed to Madrid for this purpose. Upon receiving an audience, the violent agitation of the envoy betrayed the purport of his mission, and the sovereigns of Spain refused to receive the letters.

* According to Mr. Stanhope's Despatches. Kings of Spain, vol. iii. page 109.

† St. Simon, tom. viii. page 199.

The queen was so enraged, that she tore a miniature of Lewis the Fifteenth from her arm, and trampling it under foot, exclaimed, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" Then, seeing her husband by her side, she added, "Except your majesty."* For a short time this resentment remained a court secret; but when the intelligence arrived by the post from France, the flames burst forth with double fury. Philip ordered every Frenchman to quit the kingdom, and declared, that all the blood of Spain was not sufficient to revenge the insult offered to his family. The rage of the queen was expressed in terms which are not calculated to raise our ideas of the refinement of courts. Venting her anger on the Duke of Bourbon, she exclaimed, in presence of Mr. Stanhope, "That one-eyed wretch has sent back my daughter, because the king would not make the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain."† Philip offered to refer the questions in dispute with the emperor to the sole mediation of the King of Great Britain: but, too impatient to wait for a reply, he ordered Ripperda to yield all the contested points, and sign the treaty with the court of Vienna.

1725.

Indignation
of the court
of Madrid.

The first treaty, signed by Ripperda, confirmed the renunciations of Charles and Philip respectively, and contained a guarantee on the part of Philip of the pragmatic sanction, together with the cession of the reversion of

Treaties of
Vienna,
April 30,
1725.

* Kings of Spain, chap. xxxv. M. Flassan tells the story more politely: "The queen said to him against the Duke of Bourbon all that a mother and a sovereign could say on such an occasion." — *Dipl. Française*.

† Kings of Spain, chap. xxxv.

1725.

Sicily. A second treaty, signed on the following day, regulated the commerce of the two powers, and provided for the admission of the ships of the emperor into the ports of Spain, on the footing of the most favoured nations, in derogation of the exclusive privileges enjoyed by England and Holland: Philip likewise sanctioned the company of Ostend.* Hitherto all the cessions had been on the part of Spain; but by a third and secret treaty, termed absurdly one of defensive alliance, the emperor engaged to use his good offices, and, if necessary, his mediation, to obtain from England the surrender of Gibraltar. It was likewise agreed that Don Carlos should marry the eldest archduchess; a project which flattered both the emperor and the Queen of Spain with the notion that their issue would reign over Austria, Spain, and Italy. It has been averred, that further secret engagements were entered into, by which the contracting powers agreed, should England refuse to yield Gibraltar, or resist the execution of the treaty, that not only Gibraltar should be wrested from her by force, but that all methods should be used to restore the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain. Of this fact there is some doubt. That the expulsion of the House of Hanover was in contemplation, however, is tolerably clear.†

* Rousset. Flassan.

† The supposed article of the secret treaty published by Coxe (*Memoirs of Lord Walpole*, c. xiv.; *Kings of Spain*, c. xxxvi.) can hardly be correct; both the terms used, and the title of "the Pretender," make it suspicious. The belief that such an engagement was entered into, is countenanced by the silence of Philip, when asked in a pointed way by Count Rottemburgh whether he had made any secret engagement against England. But this

The public engagements of two powers, so lately bitter enemies, were sufficient to alarm England, France, and Holland. The Duke of Bourbon feared for himself; the ministers of England and Holland, for the trade of their respective countries. In order to counteract the Vienna allies, Lord Townshend formed a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, signed at Herenhausen, but commonly known by the name of the Hanover treaty. This treaty contained in form only a defensive alliance, to guarantee their respective territories, and maintain the peace of Utrecht; in substance, it was intended to secure to England the trade which she enjoyed by treaty, and the possession of Gibraltar.

1725.

Treaty of
Hanover,
Sept. 3.

The ministry of England, conducted by two able and sagacious men, differed with respect to this treaty. Lord Townshend, whose ardent temper led him to extremes, was inflamed by animosity against the emperor, and entertained with fervour a project for dividing the Netherlands between Holland, France, and England. If passion were allowed to sway the policy of states, it must be granted that Townshend had reason for his indignation. After the support which Charles had received from England, in his attempts to mount the throne of Spain, at great expense both of her blood and treasure, his participation in a scheme to diminish her territory, if not to crush her liberties, can be considered as no other than the basest ingratitude. But may have related only to Gibraltar; so that in the end, the positive testimony of Platania and Caraccioli, the Sicilian priests, and the subsequent confessions of Ripperda, form the only ground for believing the existence of such a stipulation.

1725.

Walpole, with cooler temper, observed, that it was not the interest of England to depress the house of Austria, whose power would be required for the common benefit, whenever the family bickerings of France and Spain should be replaced by their natural alliance, and the restoration of the finances of France should render that alliance formidable to the rest of Europe.

Notwithstanding his reluctance to go to extremities, Walpole, convinced by the urgency of the occasion, undertook the defence of the treaty of Hanover in the House of Commons, where he met a warm and general support.

August.
Demand of
Gibraltar
by Spain.

The court of Spain did not long conceal their project. At first, indeed, Philip disavowed any hostile intention; but when Mr. Stanhope was preparing to transmit the intelligence to his court, he received a note, demanding the immediate restitution of Gibraltar.

December.
Return of
Ripperda.

Ripperda, on landing at Barcelona, boasted to all the officers of the garrison, that the emperor had an army of 150,000 men ready to march, and that Prince Eugene had assured him as many more should be sent, in case of war, to the assistance of Spain. "Should the Hanover allies," he said, "dare to oppose the designs of the emperor and Spain, that great grenadier, the King of Prussia, shall be driven from his throne; George the First stripped of his territories in the empire in a single campaign, and his English throne filled by the rightful heir, James the Third."* The emperor, on his side, was equally confident. He declared that he would crush the Protestant interest in

* Kings of Spain.

Germany; and that, unless George the First would restore Gibraltar and Minorca to Spain, he would sow such dissensions between him and his parliament, as would end in his expulsion from the throne. In conformity with these declarations, he gave continual audiences to the Jacobite Duke of Wharton.* 1725-7.

At first, fortune seemed to smile on his designs. In opposition to the Hanover alliance, he formed a defensive treaty with the Empress of Russia, who acceded to the treaty of Vienna, guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, and made a mutual engagement to furnish 30,000 men in case the dominions of either were attacked. The emperor likewise engaged on his side the Elector Palatine, the Electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; obliged Saxony to be neutral, and obtained the admission of an Austrian garrison into Brunswick, the capital of the Duke of Wolfenbützel. Nay, he even succeeded in detaching from his enemies the King of Prussia, who, for the sake of securing himself against Russia, and obtaining the succession of Berg and Juliers, entered into a treaty of mutual defence. The emperor makes treaties of alliance. 1726.

The machinations of the emperor in England were not equally successful. At the opening of the session of 1727, the king declared in his speech, that he had received information, on which he could entirely depend, that the placing of the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of the secret engagements; and, in conclusion, told the two houses, that "if preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the crown

January 17, 1727.
Opening of the English parliament.

* Kings of Spain. House of Austria.

1727. of Great Britain, of infinite advantage and security to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a Protestant people, were any longer worthy of the care of a British parliament, he need say no more to induce them to exert themselves in defence of all that was dear and valuable to them."

This speech produced the desired effect. An immense majority voted the address of thanks; the number of seamen was raised to 20,000, and the army to 26,000, considered at that time a formidable military establishment. The imperial minister, Count Palm, roused the popular indignation, by publishing a memorial, in which the emperor denied the assertions in the king's speech, and, as it were, appealed to the nation against the sovereign. Every feeling of pride and honour was opposed to this manifesto; Wyndham, Shippen, and Pulteney, chiefs of the opposition, supported Walpole in an address to the crown, expressive of the resentment, abhorrence, and detestation, excited in the House of Commons at this audacious insult. Palm was ordered to quit the kingdom; Spain commenced the siege of Gibraltar; English squadrons swept over the seas; and every thing seemed to portend an immediate rupture. But the men who governed the cabinet of England, while they spoke the language of defiance, were anxious only for an honourable accommodation. Events favoured their wishes.

March.
Marriage of
the King of
France.

In France great changes had happened. When, by the rejection of the Infanta of Spain, it became possible

to chuse a queen of a marriageable age, the next task of the minister was to find a wife worthy of his sovereign. He projected an alliance with the Princess Anne, the daughter of the Prince of Wales, and actually made the proposal to George the First, through Count Broglio, the French ambassador in London. But the King of England declared the marriage impossible, on account of the difference of religion. This answer was highly agreeable to Fleury, the preceptor, who was strongly averse to the match.* The next person in contemplation was a sister of the Duke of Bourbon: but this scheme, likewise, Fleury successfully combated. A tale, indeed, is told, that Madame de Prie went, under a feigned name, to the convent where the sister of the Duke of Bourbon had been brought up, and informed the princess of the high destiny which her brother had prepared for her: Mademoiselle de Vermandois shewed little emotion. Madame de Prie then proceeded to mention her own name, in order to try the effect it would produce; the young princess instantly burst out into indignant exclamations against the mistress of her brother, and declared, that if she were to be queen, that unworthy woman should be driven from the court. Madame de Prie, scarcely able to contain her fury, abruptly finished the interview, and said, as she went away, "Well; *you* shall never be queen."† But this is an idle story; and the sister of the Duke of Bourbon intended for the king was not Mademoiselle de Vermandois, but Mademoiselle de Sens.

* See a curious letter of Horace Walpole on this subject, Life of Lord Walpole.

† "Va, tu ne seras jamais reine."

1725.
April 27.

The person at length fixed upon by Madame de Prie, with the tacit approbation of Fleury, was Mary, the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinsky, the dethroned King of Poland, who was then living in Alsace. Although not regularly beautiful, this princess was said to have a good figure, and to have received an excellent education. Stanislaus had offered her hand to the Count d'Estrées, then only a colonel in the French service; but the regent had refused his permission, and fortune reserved her for a more splendid station. Her unobtrusive and attentive affection to her father, together with the poverty to which they were reduced, induced Madame de Prie to expect from the object of her choice gratitude and submission. Such was the policy which guided the choice of a Queen of France, more fortunate in its results than in its motives; for the narrow and short-sighted interests of Madame de Prie gave a virtuous queen to Lewis, and the province of Lorraine to France.

1726.

The financial measures of the Duke of Bourbon consisted chiefly of extortion; but a tax of a fiftieth of all incomes, to be raised even upon the privileged bodies of the nobility and clergy, and assessed upon the gross income of individuals in the most arbitrary manner, made his administration generally unpopular. The opposition was led by the nobility and clergy, and inflamed by a scarcity, which occurred in the year 1725. It was not the public hatred, however, which expelled the Duke of Bourbon from his situation. He was bold enough to attempt the removal of the Bishop of Frejus from any share in public business; a measure more dangerous than any oppression of the people, or even

of the great. He induced the queen to engage her husband to transact business with him one evening in her apartment, where he would be free from the continual presence of the preceptor. But Fleury, making use of a stratagem, of which he had before tried the effect, retired to Issy, near Paris, whence he wrote word to the king that, weary of struggling against those who spared no pains to hurt him in the royal confidence, he had sought a retirement, wherein to consecrate the rest of his days to God. Lewis could not withstand this appeal from his old preceptor: with sobs and tears, he ordered the Duke of Bourbon to bring him back. The duke was obliged to obey; Fleury returned triumphant, and a scheme was laid between him and his pupil, which put his power beyond all further hazard.

1726.

It was announced, that the court would make a journey to Rambouillet. Lewis spoke with rapture to the Duke of Bourbon of the pleasure he should enjoy there; and at the moment of getting into his carriage, desired the prince to arrive there for supper, adding graciously, "Take care not to make yourself be waited for." The Duke of Bourbon, pluming himself on the rank which he fancied he held in the king's favour, was about to set out, when the Duke of Charost brought him a letter in these words: "I order you, under the penalty of disobedience, to go to Chantilly, and to stay there till further orders." A lieutenant of the *gardes du corps* accompanied the prince to Chantilly. Madame de Prie, who received a *lettre de cachet* at the same time, by which she was exiled to her estate, was not allowed to see the Duke of Bourbon; and after

Dismissal of
the Duke of
Bourbon;
June 11.

1726. many months of lingering illness, expired in merited obscurity. Thus was the administration of the Duke of Bourbon concluded by an act of dissimulation, not uncommon in courts, although, perhaps, hardly ever practised by so young a king. His inexperience was, no doubt, assisted by his preceptor, who now, at seventy-three years of age, took the helm of state.

Elevation of Fleury.

Fleury had been for many years the favourite priest of the ladies of the court of Lewis the Fourteenth. His polished tone of conversation, his fondness for letters, and his freedom from all asperity of mind, made him universally popular. On his part, he liked nothing but the society of Versailles. When promoted to the bishopric of Frejus, and obliged for some time to reside, he signed himself, in a letter to a friend, "Fleury, by the displeasure of God, bishop of Frejus."

The system of Fleury was moderation and peace: he maintained, from inclination, that connexion with England, which the Duke of Orleans had observed from policy, and Madame de Prie from interest; for she is generally believed to have received a pension from the English court.*

Fall of Ripperda.

In Spain likewise a great change had taken place. Ripperda, the author of the Vienna alliance, had at first been loaded with rewards, and made secretary of state in the place of Grimaldo; but he had undertaken far more than he was able to perform. The continual demands for money made by Count Koningseg, the ambassador of Austria, were more

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV, chap. iii.

than the Spanish revenue could satisfy; and after creating discontent by great reforms in all public offices, and altering the denomination of the gold coin, he crowned his imprudence by suspending the payment of all claims and pensions at the treasury. To the ministers of England and Holland he complained that the Germans were insatiable, and would not rest till they had drained the king of his last pistole. Koningseg, on the other hand, accused Ripperda of deceiving his master, and sought for a pretext to displace him. An opportunity soon offered: Ripperda, in the hope of intimidating the English government, had disclosed to them, that the emperor had engaged to send 30,000 men into Spain, for the purpose of retaking Gibraltar, and that he would employ as many more, *wherever such a force should be deemed necessary to promote the objects of the alliance*. The emperor complained of this breach of confidence; and Ripperda, who had by this time lost the good opinion of his sovereign, was dismissed from office. His conduct upon his fall shewed the meanness of his spirit. While successful, he indulged in extravagant boasts; threatened the King of England and the Duke of Bourbon, the one with the loss of his crown, and the other of his power; insulted the Prince of Asturias; openly proclaimed his contempt of the hatred of the Spanish nation; and absurdly declared that he had "six good friends, God, the Virgin Mary, the emperor and empress, and the King and Queen of Spain."* Upon his disgrace, on the other hand, he flew to the house of the

1726.

May 14,
1726.

* Mém. de Montgon, tom. i.

1726.

British minister, shewed the utmost alarm, and, in the midst of groans and tears, made a recital of all the projects of his late sovereign and master, with the addition, no doubt, of many imaginary circumstances. Philip, enraged at this treachery from a man whom he had honoured with his confidence, gave an order for his arrest; and Mr. Stanhope, although he protested against the violation of his house, was unable to prevent the execution of the order. Ripperda was conveyed to the Castle of Segovia, from whence he soon after effected his escape by means of the servant-maid, whom he gained to his purpose. Being lately recovered from a fit of the gout, he had some difficulty in escaping from the window, and he employed four days in reaching the frontier of Portugal in a litter; a tardiness which argues great, perhaps intentional, remissness in his pursuers. He no sooner arrived in England, than he began intriguing to displace the ministry; but London was not the place where a foreign adventurer could hope to flourish in politics. Thus disappointed, he took refuge in Morocco, where he commanded an army against Spain. He died in 1737. Whether, in his latter days, he adhered to the Catholic, Protestant, Mahometan, or any religion at all, is uncertain and unimportant. His career in Spain, which alone has procured him notoriety, does not entitle him to praise. Immense promises and small performance, place him in the class of empirics, who surround every government with their prodigious plans of impossibilities, but are never allowed to deceive, unless when they meet a sovereign like Philip, at once rash and timid, ambitious and weak, absolute in power, con-

temptible in capacity. It is the promotion of such men which has justly caused Spain to be called the paradise of adventurers. 1727.

The disclosures made by Ripperda were very injurious to the emperor. Among other things, he revealed the project of marrying the eldest archduchess to the Infant of Spain: this the emperor had studiously kept secret; and while he refused to give the Queen of Spain a written promise, he had denied the promise itself to the princes of the empire. Ripperda added the assertion, that he had spent 400,000 florins in bribes during his mission at Vienna. The emperor, when called upon by the Spanish government for explanation, was unable to deny the truth of this statement; but as he had himself personally accepted part of the money, no account of the disbursement was ever given. Thus his falsehood and venality were brought to light at the same time. On the other hand, the King of Prussia wavered, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel seceded from his alliance. A British squadron in the Baltic had kept in check the forces of Russia; a second squadron of the same nation detained the galleons which were to have brought the riches of the New World into the imperial treasury; while a third alarmed the King of Spain for his own coasts. The alliance with Madrid, which was to have enriched the court of Vienna, had increased their debt instead of their income. Thus disappointed and dispirited, Charles the Sixth readily listened to terms of accommodation. The death of the Empress of Russia quickened his anxiety. May 17. Happily for him, the rise of the pacific Cardinal Fleury

His disclosures injurious to the emperor.

1727. to the post of prime minister of France, and the moderate temper of Sir Robert Walpole, made the task easy. Preliminaries were signed at Vienna on the 31st of May: a suspension of the Ostend company for seven years, and a reference of all disputes to a general congress, to be assembled for that purpose, were the principal terms.*
- Preliminaries signed at Vienna, May 31st.
- Death of George the First, June 22.
- Peace would now have been concluded, had not the death of George the First raised new hopes of a Jacobite restoration in the minds of the emperor and the King of Spain. But the tranquil succession of his son, and, above all, the maintenance of Walpole in the post of prime minister, soon defeated the hopes both of the domestic and foreign abettors of the exiled family. The English ministry concluded a treaty with the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, which deprived the emperor of the passage he had hoped to obtain into the territories of Hanover. The King of Spain, by the act of the Pardo, acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna; but his mind still harped upon Gibraltar, and he delayed, by numerous evasions, the restoration of a ship called the Prince Frederic, captured before the commencement of war, and the distribution of the effects of the flota. The emperor, on his part, fluctuated between his desire of securing the gold of the galleons, and his fears of a war in Germany. When the court of Spain asked his consent to the introduction of Spanish troops in the strong places of Tuscany, he employed every kind of chicanery to avoid or defeat the proposition. The Queen of Spain, who had now assumed
- Nov. 23.
- Act of the Pardo, Mar. 1728.

* Rousset. Coxe. Flassan.

the entire direction of her husband's kingdom, irritated by this conduct, at length required an immediate and direct consent to the marriage of the eldest archduchess with her son. Charles, as was his custom, returned a hesitating reply; and the Queen of Spain, who never hesitated, concluded with the courts of England and France the treaty of Seville. By this treaty, Spanish troops were to garrison the Italian fortresses; in return, the Ostend company was to be suppressed, and the commercial privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor revoked. A time was allowed, indeed, for his accession to the treaty; but he would not listen to this arrangement, and declared that he would rather risk another general war against the united powers of Europe, than agree to such humiliating conditions.* He threatened to evacuate the Low Countries, prepared to inundate Italy with troops, demanded the contingent of Russia, and drew from the King of Prussia the promise of an auxiliary force of 10,000 men. But his ministers were all averse to war, and some of them did not fear to confess it. Prince Eugene, after finishing a game of piquet one day with Lord Waldegrave, who had lately been sent to Vienna, proposed a fencing-party for the summer; and then added, in the presence of a dozen persons, "If this foolish war does not prevent us:—I never had so little pleasure in my life in the prospect of war; it is the only one I ever knew, the arrangements of which give me no pleasure. There is no object; there is not cause enough to kill a chicken."† At length the pride and obstinacy of the

1728.

Treaty of
Seville,
Nov. 29,
1729.

* House of Austria.

† Ibid.

1731.
Second treaty
of Vienna,
March 16.

emperor were overcome, and he signed what has been called the second treaty of Vienna, the last act of these long and costly disputes. By this treaty the emperor engaged to abolish the Ostend company, and consented to the introduction of 6000 Spanish troops into the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma. On the other hand, England guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, on condition that the archduchess should not be married to a prince of the house of Bourbon, or to any prince so powerful as to endanger the balance of Europe. Spain acceded to these conditions, and in July a new treaty was concluded between the emperor, Great Britain, Spain, and Holland.*

July.

Reflections.

Thus terminated a series of disputes, of which it would be hardly worth while to give an outline, were it not that they mark the character and the influence of the governing powers of Europe. Never was the art of negotiation of so much importance in public affairs; never were the intrigues of cabinets more decisive in their influence upon peace and war. The faithlessness of Charles the Sixth, the rashness of the Duke of Bourbon, and the ambition of Elizabeth Farnese, raised the storm; the prudence of Walpole, and the moderation of Fleury, allayed it. Of all the governments of Europe, however, that of England shone most conspicuous at this period. Their anxiety for peace long prevented the contending parties from breaking out into hostility; when war seemed inevitable, British fleets arrested the disturbers in the commencement of their course; and finally, while the opponents of Walpole were

* Rousset.

declaiming against the folly of weakening the great enemy of the house of Bourbon, a sudden reconciliation secured to England all the objects for which she had contended, saved Gibraltar, and yielded nothing but what she had no interest in refusing. The only censure that can be passed upon the English government of this period is, that they shewed too much of that commercial jealousy which is the continual source of national hatred and injustice. But it must be recollected, that this jealousy was at once the science and the passion of the age; nor could any English minister have ventured to thwart, in this respect, the ruling opinion of his country and his time. 1731.

France and Spain continued, during these few years, the jealous enmity which had sprung from the respective positions of Philip the Fifth and the Duke of Orleans. But this hostility had, latterly, no other motive than the agreement of Walpole and Fleury in a love of peace, opposed to the aspiring and restless temper of the Queen of Spain. When, therefore, Walpole, with steadiness and temper, prepared the way for a reconciliation with the emperor, Fleury with equal skill detached Spain from his side: so that the one minister had no sooner renewed the ancient alliance of England and Austria, than the other was enabled to form afresh the links by which Lewis the Fourteenth had connected the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

The abdication of the King of Sardinia is an event which ought not to be passed over. After a reign of extraordinary activity and energy, he suddenly descended from the throne, and sought a relief from its cares in

Sept. 1730.
Abdication
of the King
of Sardinia.

1730. retirement at Chamberri. Various motives have been assigned for this conduct. Some attribute it to the embarrassment in which he was placed by contradictory engagements. In the course of the late negotiations, he had, with his usual faithlessness, concluded a treaty with the emperor; and a few months after, tempted by a greater bribe, had entered into an alliance with Spain of a directly contrary nature. To a prince so used to a double policy, however, this position could have caused little difficulty. Others have sought a reason for retirement, in his marriage with the Countess of St. Sebastian, who had long been his mistress; in the decline of his health; or in a growing habit of devotion. It is not necessary, however, to seek far for the motive of an act so frequent in the history of monarchy. It is the nature of man to desire something different from what he has: those who are in a humble station form an exaggerated notion of the delights of power and rank; while those who have long enjoyed these supposed advantages make to themselves a charming vision of the pleasures of ease, leisure, and retirement. A disposition so restless might seem to be given us as the bane of our happiness, did we not reflect, that this same unwillingness to be satisfied with the goods we have, is the cause of all our progress in social art, of our sublimest speculations in philosophy, and of our brightest hopes in religion.

Dissensions
between him
and his son.

Victor Amedeus, in quitting the crown, was, like Philip the Fifth, unwilling to part with its prerogatives. By his desire, a note of all that was transacted in the council of state was sent to him daily; and on important questions the oracle spoke its commands. As usual, a minister was

1731.

found, who, having been raised from the lowest station by the old king, endeavoured to make the young prince jealous of his father. After a paralytic attack, which Victor suffered the winter following his abdication, the note was discontinued. Victor Amedeus, irritated by this proceeding, received a visit of his son with coldness, and treated the minister, D'Ormea, with avowed contempt and hostility. D'Ormea resented this behaviour, and persuaded his sovereign to escape by night, pretending a danger which threatened his life. Victor himself followed, and did not stop till he arrived at Moncarlier, a favourite palace near Turin. From this period the tale is differently told. Some accounts say, he merely signified to his son that he was come to accept an invitation, given him by his son himself, to pass the winter in a milder climate. Other relations affirm, that he called for the abdication in a loud tone; and that this being refused, he rode in the middle of the night, with a single attendant, to the citadel of Turin, and demanded admittance. This, at least, was the account given to the young king, whose council unanimously proposed, and at length obtained from him, an order for the arrest of his father. He has been much reproached for giving this order; and the example of Mahomet the Second, who twice restored the crown to his parent, has been quoted to his reproach: but it would be necessary to know, much better than we can pretend to do, the state of mind of Victor Amedeus, before we censure his son.

Whatever necessity there might be for securing the person of the old monarch, there could be none for treating

1731. him with indignity. When the officers to whom the order was intrusted arrived at Moncarlier, they found the king in a profound sleep. He was forced to get out of bed, and suffer himself to be removed to Rivoli. As he went along he made frequent appeals to the soldiers, whom he called upon to assist him, in the name of the toils they had suffered, and the battles they had fought together. His queen, who, it is said, was at first subjected to great rudeness, was restored to him at Rivoli; but he became so unhappy at that place, that it was thought proper to comply with his desire of allowing him to reside at Moncarlier. He died not long after these sad events.*

1732.
October 31.
His death.

The government of France, on this occasion, was strongly pressed to revenge the cause of the king's grandfather; but the pacific Fleury would not allow a relationship, which had not prevented Victor Amedeus from doing his utmost to ruin France, to become efficient for the purpose of protecting him against his son. Nor was he willing to offend a young prince who had just mounted the throne, and held the keys of the Alps.

If the relationship of Lewis the Fifteenth to the King of Sardinia was not able to seduce Fleury into hostile measures, another family alliance proved of more persuasive influence:

Feb. 1733.
Death of
Augustus the
Second, king
of Poland.

Augustus the Second, king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, was about to meet an assembly of the Polish diet, from which he hoped to obtain a law making the crown of

* For an account of these transactions, see Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV*, Ed. de Kehl. Coxe, *House of Austria*, chap. lxxxix.

Poland hereditary in his family, when he was attacked by a gangrene in his foot, which carried him in a few days to the grave. Had he lived a short time longer, Poland might have preserved her independence. 1733.

Two competitors divided the opinions of men. The one was Stanislaus Leczinsky, formerly appointed king by Charles the Twelfth, when he dispossessed Augustus the Second of the crown. He had afterwards been the companion of Charles at Bender, and, on the death of his patron, deprived of all his possessions, had retired to Weissemburg, in Alsace, whence, as we have seen, his daughter was summoned to share the throne of France. The other competitor for the Polish crown was Augustus, the son and successor of Augustus the Second in the electorate of Saxony. But before we discuss their pretensions, it may be well to retrace the recent history of Russia; a power which, from this time, took the destiny of Poland under the wing of her imperious protection.

When Peter the Great was on his death-bed, the nobility conspired to place on his throne the son of Alexis, whom Peter had put to death with such austerity of justice. Bassewitz, the envoy of Holstein, gave notice of this design to Catherine and Mentchikoff, who had united their interests. Mentchikoff secured the treasure, the guards, and the principal authorities of church and state. The nobility quickly dissolved their party; and when, after the death of Peter, some individuals were brought forward by Mentchikoff to give a very vague and doubtful testimony of the intentions of the Czar in favour of Catherine, the suspected

Affairs of
Russia.
Death of
Peter the
Great,
Feb. 8, 1725.

1733. persons vied with one another in professing their satisfaction at this novel manner of transferring an empire. Thus Catherine was universally acknowledged as sovereign of the vast dominions of Russia.

Mentchikoff. The career of Mentchikoff is singular, and partakes of the oriental character of Russia. The common and most approved belief is, that he was the son of a peasant, and that, placed, when a boy, with a pastry-cook at Moscow, he carried about little pies, singing along the streets: Peter the Great, it is said, fell in with him in this character, and was pleased with the wit and liveliness of his repartees. He was enrolled in the body of soldiers whom the Czar was teaching in the European manner, and became by degrees so agreeable to him, that he was raised to be the companion of his travels, a general of his armies, and the prime counsellor of his cabinet. He was fitted for these offices, both by a resemblance of abilities and by a similarity of tastes with his master. At the battle of Pultawa his genius contributed greatly to the result; upon the punishment of the Strelitzes, he drove about Moscow with a drawn sword, boasting that he had cut off twenty heads with his own hand. At times, indeed, the Czar would kick him and beat him like a dog; but, like a dog, he licked the hand that chastised him, and soon regained his master's favour. His pillage of the public money was shameless and notorious. The courtiers made a list of his depredations, which they one day placed by the side of Peter, who read it carelessly, and put it aside. At length Tolstoi asked him what he thought of it; "Nothing, but that

Mentchikoff will always be Mentchikoff," was his reply.* 1733.

Towards the end of the reign of Peter, however, his influence greatly diminished. Mentchikoff is represented as steady to his friends, kind to his inferiors, brave in the field, affable at court; but, at the same time, of implacable resentments, boundless ambition, and insatiable avarice.

Catherine was handsome, good-humoured, and had many of the best qualities of a soldier's wife. But she was not fitted to govern an empire, and her name served only to cover the supreme authority of Mentchikoff. Except celebrating with great pomp the marriage of Anne, the daughter of Peter, she took little concern in any public affair. She soon fell ill, an ulcer appeared, and she hastened the progress of disease by abundant potations of Tokay. She died after a reign of two years and some months. Catherine. Her death.

By right of birth, by the will of Catherine, and by permission of Mentchikoff, Peter the Second, the son of the deceased Czarewitz Alexis, succeeded to the throne, at the age of eleven years and a half. According to the terms of the will, Anne and Elizabeth, daughters of Catherine; the Duke of Holstein, the husband of Anne; and the Prince of Holstein, the betrothed husband of Elizabeth, together with the six members of the council of state, were to form a council of regency till the young prince should reach the age of sixteen. But Mentchikoff, on the very day of the decease of the empress, caused Peter to be lodged in his own palace, where he allowed no one to see him without his leave. He had likewise induced Catherine Peter the Second.

* Levesque. History of Russia, tom. v. p. 68.

1733. to insert an article in her will, by which the Czar was obliged to marry his daughter.

Having every thing now his own way, Mentchikoff swayed the empire with an authority at least as unlimited as that which he had held during the reign of Catherine. The Duke of Holstein and his duchess, disgusted with the degrading position in which they were placed, left the country.

The princes
Dolgorouki.

Yet many were left behind who were jealous of the power of the usurper. A young prince of the Dolgorouki family, especially, hinted to the emperor, that the favourite was exercising a despotism as humiliating to the sovereign as it was odious to the people. Some circumstance was wanting, however, to make the Czar sensible of his servitude and his rights; what he was, and what he might be. An occasion soon occurred. The young prince sent to his sister a present of nine thousand ducats, which he had received from the masons' company. Mentchikoff meeting the messenger by the way, and being told his errand, said hastily, that the emperor was too young to know how to dispose of money, and ordered the present to his own apartments. When the princess came to see her brother the next day, the Czar was surprised to hear she had not received his present, and, on discovering the truth, was violently indignant. Stamping with his foot, he exclaimed to Mentchikoff, "I will make you know that I am emperor, and that I will be obeyed." *

A few days afterwards, during a dangerous illness of

* Manstein.

Mentchikoff, the princes Dolgorouki and others persuaded the emperor to go to Peterhof, a palace about twenty miles from Petersburgh. Mentchikoff had a country seat at Oranienburg, about seven miles from Peterhof,* where he repaired; but, instead of appeasing his master, he had the imprudence, at a public ceremony, to seat himself on a kind of throne intended for the emperor. Peter went out a-hunting, and, by the advice of his friends, instead of returning, turned his horse towards Petersburg. Mentchikoff, however, preceded him, and, when he arrived at Petersburg, preserved all the outward pomp of power and favour. But it was too late; an order for his arrest was issued by command of the emperor. Still, however, hopes were held out to him of a mild exile to Oranienburg, a town which he had built: he quitted Petersburgh with much confidence, and too open a display of it. But appearances speedily grew worse; and on his arrival at Oranienburg he was met by commissaries empowered to try him: having, of course, found him guilty, they sentenced him to pass the rest of his life at Berosowa, situated in the most remote part of Siberia. His wife went blind with weeping, and died by the way; the rest of his family followed him into exile. He shewed great spirit under his misfortune, and preserved the vigour of his character: among other similar employments, he worked with his own hatchet at the building of a church. He died in 1729, for want of a surgeon to open a vein.

1733.

Fall of
Mentchikoff.

* Coxe's Travels. Manstein, in the English translation, is made to say two miles; of course, German miles.

1733.

Feb. 10,
N. S. 1730.
Death of
Peter the
Second.

The power which Mentchikoff had seized by force fell to the princes Dolgorouki by persuasion. They naturally excited the envy and hatred of the court; and before they had time to subdue opposition, the young Czar caught the small-pox, and died after a reign of only two years and nine months. He was universally popular, from his mildness and good nature; but, had he lived, might have replunged Russia into her former barbarism.

Election of
the Empress
Anne.

Upon the death of the emperor, the council of state, the senate, and such of the generals as happened to be at Moscow, assembled in the palace of the Kremlin. As soon as the chancellor Golofkin had announced the decease of the sovereign, Prince Demetrius Galitzin, addressing them, said, "That since, by the demise of Peter the Second, the whole male line of Peter the First was extinct, and since Russia had suffered extremely by despotic power, to the prevalence of which the great number of foreigners brought in by Peter the First had greatly contributed, it would be highly expedient to limit the supreme authority by salutary laws, and not to confer the imperial crown on the new empress that should be chosen, but under certain conditions." He concluded by asking the opinion of the assembly, who agreed to his proposal without one dissentient voice. Prince Basilus Dolgorouki then moved to name as their sovereign, Anne Duchess Dowager of Courland. Anne was the daughter of the Czar Ivan the First, the elder brother of Peter, and therefore was supposed to have a prior claim to his daughters; but Anne herself had an elder sister, then residing at Moscow, who was only set aside on the pretext that she was married

to the Duke of Mecklenburg, a foreign prince, whereas the Duchess of Courland was a widow. The real reason for this preference was, that the Duchess of Courland was at Mittau, which gave the nobles time to arrange their measures.

The conditions that were agreed upon, all tended to place the supreme authority in the hands of the senate and council of state, consisting of the grandees of the empire. The empress was to reign only in virtue of their resolves. She was not to make war or peace, to lay any new tax, or bestow any place of importance, of her own authority. She was not to punish any noble with death unless duly convicted of his crime, or to confiscate any man's property. She was not to alienate or dispose of any lands belonging to the crown, nor to marry or appoint an heir without the consent of the council of state. The empress was required to sign these conditions, and not to bring to Moscow Biren her favourite.

After these arrangements, the council ordered that an oath should be exacted from the army that they would not serve the empress but conjointly with the senate, and that no one, except their own deputies, should acquaint the empress with her election, under pain of death. Notwithstanding this prohibition, however, a lieutenant-general of the name of Jagouzinski despatched his aide-de-camp to inform Anne of what had happened, and to advise her to agree to all the conditions proposed, trusting to him and his friends for a future release. This messenger arrived, but his mission was discovered, and Jagouzinski thrown into prison.

1733.

Stipulations.

1733.

The new empress, however, had received sufficient warning. She welcomed the deputies with favour, and signed all that they presented to her. On her arrival at Moscow, she signed the articles anew, and seemed to submit to them cheerfully; but in secret she employed every possible means to break the shackles which had been imposed upon her. The guards about her person were gained by her personal liberality. The smaller nobility were artfully told, "that the power of the council of state would be fatal to their interests; that none but a relation or a dependant of the members of the council would henceforward receive promotion; whereas, while power was in a single hand, the least private gentleman might pretend to the highest posts of the empire. They were desired to recollect the times of Peter the Great, who had rewarded merit wherever he found it: the present empress, had she the same power, would have the same disposition." Inflamed by these representations, the inferior nobility met, to the number of several hundreds, in the houses of the Princes Troubolzu, Boraitenski, and Kzersasky. When all was ready, a body of six hundred waited upon the empress, and requested she would desire the council and the senate to assemble: this was immediately done; the guards were ordered to have their pieces loaded, and no one was permitted to leave the palace.

The council and senate being assembled, the empress placed herself in the presence-chamber, and ordered these bodies to appear before her. Then Count Mattweof advanced, and, in the name of the nobility, expressed their desire that, since Russia had so long been governed by

monarchs, and not by councils, she would take the reins of government in her own hands. The empress, affecting great surprise, exclaimed, "How! was it not then with the will of the whole nation that I signed the act presented to me at Mittau?" The whole assembly answered, "No." Upon which, turning to Prince Dolgorouki, she said, "How came you, then, Prince Basilius, so far to impose upon me?" She ordered the high chancellor to bring her the writings she had signed. She read the articles with a loud voice, and at the end of each, said, "Is this article for the good of the nation?" To each question the assembly answered, "No." She then tore them, declaring that they were unnecessary, and "that, as Russia had never been governed but by one sole monarch, she claimed the same prerogatives which had been enjoyed by her ancestors, from whom she derived the crown, not from the council of state; and that whoever opposed her sovereignty should be punished for high treason." At the same time she made plausible professions of mildness, and a constant attention to the happiness of the nation.*

1733.
The empress
annuls the
stipulations.

The news of this revolution was received with great joy by the lesser nobility and the common people; a just punishment on the council and senate for the selfishness they had shewn in their limitations on the sovereign power. Political observers attributed their failure to the want of energy shewn in not punishing Jagouzinski, and in not dissolving the guards.† But it is evident they failed in a more important requisite, that of interesting any large body of people in the success of their enterprise.

* Memoirs of Manstein.

† Ibid.

1733.

The fate of the Dolgoroukis was tragical. At first they were sent into Siberia: after eight years' exile, the empress thought of employing some of them in her service, and one of the princes had reached Petersburg, preparatory to a mission to England; but, upon the prospect of their advancement, a secret enemy revived forgotten accusations. A story had been current that they had forged or extorted a will of Peter the Second, leaving the crown to a sister of the Dolgoroukis, to whom he was to have been married on the day of his death; and that Prince Ivan had come out of his chamber as soon as the sovereign expired, with a drawn sword in his hand, exclaiming, "Long live the Empress Catherine!" but that finding no support, he had burnt the will. Upon this, and some other accusations, the princes were tried: Basilius and Ivan were broke on the wheel; two others were quartered; and two more put to death in some other manner.*

Biren.

As soon as the Empress Anne saw herself firmly established, she brought forward Biren, who, notwithstanding the condition, that he was to be left behind in Courland, had from the first repaired secretly to Moscow. He was now made a count, and high chamberlain, in the place of Prince Ivan Dolgorouki. Of his origin and subsequent fortunes, we may find another occasion to inquire.

Munich
placed at the
head of the
army.

As soon as the empress arrived at Petersburg, she began to attend diligently to the affairs of her empire. Count

* Manstein. Levesque remarks, that quartering was unknown in Russia; and that the punishment alluded to was, probably, cutting off the legs, arms, and head; called the punishment of five pieces. To the historian, the difference is, no doubt, of some importance; to the criminal it must be of little value.

F.*

by Natalia,
5; married
kin;
First, who
89.

Catharine,
ed 1730;
Frederick,
n Gottorp.

10. Elizabeth, by Catha-
rine, born 1709; em-
press 1741; died 1761.

Third, born 1728;
1; deposed and
married
he Second, Princess
erbst, born 1729;
2.

vitch, born 1754; emperor 1796; married
ia, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt;
, Princess of Wurtemberg Stutgard.

ne, born 1779.

15. Nicholas, born 1796;
emperor 1825.

[To be inserted between pages 58 and 59.]

1794

1. Michael F. Schmitt

2. Mary Schmitt, born 1795

3. Taylor Alexander, born 1800
1801; died 1801

4. John Schmitt, born 1797
married Mary Schmitt
1801; died 1801

5. Anne, Regent of France, 1749; died in
prison at Robespierre 1794; married
Antoine Marie, brother to the Duke
of Brunswick. Antiquary 1794

6. John, born and married
1795; died 1795; put
to death at Robespierre
1794

Munich was made field-marshal; and, by his advice, the Russian army was subjected to a more regular discipline than it had ever known before. Of all the institutions of Peter, none was more unpopular than that which established three degrees of pay for officers of the army; the highest for foreigners, the next for the sons of foreigners, and the lowest for Russians. By the counsels of Munich this distinction was abolished; and the pay of the natives thereby doubled. He likewise established a college for cadets, and formed regiments of cuirassiers. A committee of general officers, under his direction, prepared a new system of regulations for the army.

1733.

At the same time, the empress, in the view of encouraging trade, lowered the duties of import on many articles of merchandise, and renewed all the ancient treaties of commerce. She received an embassy from China, made a convention with Persia, and interfered in the affairs of Courland.

Such was the state of the Russian empire upon the death of Augustus the Second. Augustus had offended both the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia; the one, by refusing to agree to the pragmatic sanction; the other, by planning a division of the duchy of Courland. But his successor, Augustus the Third, conciliated both by signing the pragmatic sanction, and placing the affairs of Courland entirely at the disposal of Russia. With these concessions the emperor and the czarina were satisfied. The emperor sent an army into Silesia, and declared to the Poles, that he would support such a candidate as might be unexceptionable both to the republic

Austria and
Russia sup-
port the
Elector of
Saxony.

1733.

and the neighbouring powers: this was a virtual exclusion of Stanislaus. The czarina went further; she assembled two bodies of troops, and declared to the primate of the kingdom that she would support the election of Augustus with all her forces, in case the republic should not submit to him with a good grace.*

On the other hand, the government of France announced its intention, as guarantee of the treaty of Oliva, of protecting the freedom of election, and opposing the intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of Poland. Intrigues and money were lavishly employed by French agents to secure the election of Stanislaus, the father-in-law of the King of France. The Poles, thus unhappily circumstanced, entered into a confederacy, under the direction of their primate, to elect none but a native Pole. The diet of election met on the 25th of August, and, notwithstanding the threats and the artifices of the Russian ambassadors, elected Stanislaus their king on the 12th of September, in the plain of Wola. A small party, however, headed by the Bishops of Cracovia, Posnania, and the Prince Wiesnowiski, retired across the Vistula, and wrote to Petersburg, requesting the assistance of the empress against their adversaries. Such was the melancholy effect of elective monarchy in Poland: it afforded a pretext to every faction to call in the aid of foreign troops, and thus opened the way for the total destruction both of freedom and independence.

Stanislaus
elected by
the diet,
Sept. 12.

Invasion of
Poland by
the Russian
army.

The Empress of Russia received with joy the invitation

* Manstein.

of the Poles, and sent immediate orders to Count Lacey to enter Lithuania, at the head of 20,000 men. Lacey pushed on rapidly towards Warsaw; but finding Stanislaus already proclaimed, and the bridges broken down, he proceeded to the election of the Elector of Saxony, near the village of Kamien, in the same field where Henry the Third of France had been formerly chosen. Lacey then passed the Vistula, and took possession of Warsaw. The Russian army, with the reinforcement it had received, soon amounted to 50,000 men; and Stanislaus, forced to abandon the open country, took refuge in Dantzic. Here the Russians prepared to besiege him; but as the greater part of Poland was attached to the cause of its native king, they could not safely commence the siege till the beginning of the following year.

1733.

In the meantime, the Emperor of Germany found his position more embarrassing than he expected. He had hoped that a show of moderation would appease the pacific ministry of France; that Spain would not arm; and that, at all events, he should have the support of the maritime powers, and the King of Sardinia. But in all these expectations he was mistaken. The French court was hurried into hostilities by the warlike temper of the veteran marshals of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the aspiring ardour of the young nobles who surrounded the throne of his grandson. Philip the Fifth, rousing from a long lethargy, resumed his plans of conquest in Italy, and made an offensive alliance with France. Holland entered into a convention with the French, and promised neutrality, upon

1733. condition that the Netherlands should not be attacked. Sir Robert Walpole, intent only upon the safety of the Protestant succession, refused, in spite both of his king and his colleagues, to risk that succession in a war against the two branches of the house of Bourbon. Lastly, the King of Sardinia, enraged at the evasive answers which the emperor gave to his propositions, entered into an engagement with France and Spain, who promised to give him the Milanese, with the title of King of Lombardy. Yet so ignorant were the Austrians of this alliance, that the Governor of Milan supplied him with grain and military stores; and offered to assist him in impeding the march of Marshal Villars across the Alps. But, to the infinite surprise of the Germans, Charles Emanuel placed himself at the head of the French and Spaniards, and bursting into the Milanese, became, in less than three months, master of the whole of Lombardy with the exception of Mantua.

Invasion of
Italy by the
French.

While these events happened in Italy, another French army occupied Lorraine, and took possession of the fort of Kehl. At the same time, the French minister declared to the diet, that his master entertained none but friendly views towards the empire: the diet, however, mistrusting these professions, voted a force of 120,000 men to support the emperor.

1734. The following year beheld all the great states of Europe, with the exception of the maritime powers, involved in war. On the 6th of February, the Russian army, about 12,000 strong, entered the territory of Dantzic, and before the end of the month blockaded the town. The inha-

Siege of
Dantzic.

bitants, inspirited by the presence of their king and the prospect of succours from France, displayed a determination of resistance, and flocked in such numbers to the banners, that the troops of the besieged were more than twice as many as the besiegers. In the beginning of March, Marshal Munich arrived to take the command of the Russian army; the place was more and more closely invested; a fort in the vicinity taken, and the Russians made themselves masters of all the ground between the city and the sea. The Poles advanced, to the number of 10,000, to the relief of the place; but the Russians, with little more than 3000 dragoons and 1000 Cossacks, crossed two defiles to attack them, and totally routed them. Such was the advantage of discipline. During the rest of the siege the Poles attempted nothing further; and whenever they took the field the Russians did not hesitate to attack them, even when the enemy was ten times their number.

1734.

Munich had hitherto been deficient in battering-cannon, but, by an ingenious stratagem, mortars were sent through Germany in covered waggons, under the name of the equipage of the Duke of Weissenfel. With this succour, several forts were taken, and an attempt made against the works of a fortified hill called Hagelsburg. Unluckily, all the principal officers commanding the columns of assault were killed; but the soldiers maintained their ground for three hours so obstinately, that although they were exposed to a terrible fire, and Count Munich gave them orders to retire, they sent word that they would sooner suffer themselves to be all slain than give way an inch; nor was it till General Lacey himself went to persuade them, that they submitted

1734. to retreat. Their loss in this assault was about two thousand men.

On the 22d of May, a French fleet arrived, having on board three regiments, forming altogether 2,500 men. This force was so insignificant, that its commander, not seeing to what use it could be applied, had gone to Denmark; but the French ambassador at Copenhagen, Count Plelo, anxious for the honour of the French arms, reproached him for his inaction, and proposed to him to return. The commander replied testily, that it was easy for an ambassador to talk in that manner in the security of his cabinet. Plelo, who was colonel of a regiment, was so provoked, that he rashly determined to put himself at the head of the expedition and attempt the relief of Dantzic. So hopeless, however, did he deem this enterprise, that before he set out he wrote to the French ministry, saying he knew that he should fall, and recommended to their protection his wife and children. Accordingly, upon his arrival before Dantzic, he made a gallant attack upon the Russian entrenchments; but after several attempts, the French were forced to retire, leaving Count Plelo and 160 men killed upon the spot. The remainder afterwards made a capitulation, by which they stipulated that they were to be conveyed to a neutral port. Some disagreement arising, they were sent to Russia, where, however, they were treated rather as the guests of a great empress than the prisoners of a barbarous enemy. The Russians before Dantzic, having at length been aided by the arrival of their fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, well supplied with artillery and ammunition, bombarded the town so vigorously, that on the

Death of
Count Plelo.

June 30,
Surrender of
Dantzic.

last day of June it submitted to the authority of Augustus the Third. Stanislaus had previously escaped in disguise. It cost the Russians a whole year more to reduce to subjection the rest of Poland.* 1734.

While the Polish election was thus determined according to the wishes, although not by the weapons of the Emperor of Germany, his arms were far from being successful in other quarters. After forming lines upon the Rhine at much cost of time and money, he could not collect a force sufficient to defend them. Of the 120,000 men voted by the diet, no more than 12,000 made their appearance; and the rest of the army amounted to only 13,000 men, mostly raw and undisciplined levies.† In this situation, the science of Marshal Berwick was hardly required to enable him to break through the lines at Etlingen. He found them weakly guarded; and, attacking them both by the right and left at the same time, carried them without difficulty. The imperialists retired precipitately to Heilbron, where Prince Eugene, who had recently arrived from Vienna, took the command. The French army proceeded to the siege of Philipsburg, which Eugene was unable to relieve. This siege was fatal to Marshal Berwick. He was one day in the trenches examining the place under a heavy fire: in order to observe the better, he had himself lifted up, and looked over the parapet with his glass: when in this position, a cannon-ball struck off his head. Two of his sons were close to him at the time, and were covered

Campaign
upon the
Rhine.

Death of
Marshal
Berwick.

* Manstein. Flassan. Voltaire.

† House of Austria.

1734. with his blood.* He left the reputation of a great general and an able statesman; but he seems to have been little beloved either in the army or at court. Philipsburg surrendered: the rest of the campaign was employed in quarrels between the Duke of Noailles and D'Asfeldt on the one side, and between Prince Eugene and the Duke of Bevern on the other. In this short campaign, Frederic, then prince of Prussia, made his first apprenticeship in arms.

Death of
Marshal
Villars.

When Marshal Berwick was killed by a cannon-ball at Philipsburg, Marshal Villars, who had been sent to take the command in Italy, was dying in his bed at Turin. Informed of the fate of his colleague and rival, he said, with the spirit of a soldier, "That man had always more luck than I!" He expired a few days afterwards.

Campaign
in Italy.

The efforts of the emperor in Italy were more vigorous, but, upon the whole, still less successful, than in Germany. Count Merci, the most enterprising of his generals, was placed at the head of all the troops that could be raised from his hereditary dominions, with positive orders to act on the offensive. In pursuance of these directions, he attacked the allied army, strongly entrenched near Parma. His troops, although not supported by cannon, forced the entrenchments; but Count Merci himself, and many superior officers, with the bravest of the army, were killed; and the imperialists, discouraged by their loss, retreated on the same day. Another bloody action took place on the 19th

Sept. 19.

* Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XV.

of September, in which the French and Sardinians were more decidedly victorious. Mantua, however, was preserved. 1734.

The events which took place on the side of Naples were still more disastrous to the imperial arms. Don Carlos, declaring himself of age, and assuming the government of Parma and Placentia, marched with the Spanish army from Tuscany; and on the 10th of April, 3000 Spanish troops entered Naples without opposition. While Don Carlos himself made a triumphal entry into Naples, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, the Duke of Montemar marched against the remnant of the imperial army, consisting of 9000 men, attacked them in a strong post at Bitonto, killed 2,500, and obliged the rest to surrender. For this service he was made Duke of Bitonto by the King of Spain. In the end of August, he landed near Palermo, at the head of a Spanish force; and in the course of the ensuing summer conquered the whole island of Sicily, with the exception of Messina and Syracuse.* These rapid successes of the Spaniards appear to have been owing partly to the military faults of the Austrian general Traun, and partly to the affection which the people of Naples and Sicily seem ever to have entertained in favour of Spanish dominion.

Conquest of
Naples and
Sicily.

The losses of the emperor during this campaign affected him with the most violent indignation at the conduct of the maritime powers. Prince Eugene, equally impressed with these sentiments, wrote several confidential letters to

Remon-
strance of
Prince
Eugene.

* Muratori.

1734. his agent in London, to be laid before the King of England. In one of these he says; "I need not tell you, what is well known, that I was always inclined, even more than any other person, to the union with the maritime powers; and nothing will make me desert this principle, so long as they act with the same uprightness and candour as his imperial majesty. But I cannot refrain from avowing my astonishment at their present conduct. Will it be a matter of surprise, should the emperor, abandoned by those on whom he ought most to rely, be forced to the extreme necessity of consenting to a measure on which he cannot reflect without horror? What then will become of the liberty of Europe? and who can justly reproach him for having taken the only step which can save him from destruction? Should he not take that step, should the house of Bourbon continue in possession of her present conquests, and those she is likely to make, will the liberty of Europe be more firmly established? Can the maritime powers imagine that the emperor is too formidable, and the house of Bourbon too weak? Or can any one, attached to the interests of the king, believe that his Britannic Majesty will not feel the fatal effects of the weakness to which the emperor may be reduced; and that the house of Bourbon, to attain universal monarchy, will not raise herself on the ruins of that of Austria, destroy the commerce of the maritime powers, and establish the Pretender, or his posterity, on the throne of England?" *

Sir Robert Walpole was little moved by these repre-

* House of Austria.

sentations. He was engaged in a negotiation with Holland; and as soon as that negotiation was concluded, he offered the joint mediation of England and Holland to the belligerent powers. The emperor was indignant at this conduct, and even sent an agent, of the name of Strickland, to endeavour to drive Walpole from the helm: this stratagem, as might be expected, failed; at the desire of the minister, Strickland was dismissed, and succours absolutely refused.* The emperor, thus baffled, reluctantly agreed to accept the good offices and admit the mediation of the maritime powers.

1734.
Mediation of
England and
Holland.

Walpole now strenuously laboured to give tranquillity to Europe; and for this purpose concerted a project with Cardinal Fleury, who was in secret, no less than himself, a friend of peace. The basis of their combined project was, that Stanislaus should resign the kingdom of Poland; that Parma, Placentia, and the reversion of Tuscany, should be granted to the emperor; the two Sicilies to Don Carlos; and the three small provinces of Tortona, Novara, and Vigevanasco, to the King of Sardinia. A curious part of the plan was, that Leghorn was to be separated from Tuscany, and constituted a republic: but to this article the emperor absolutely refused his consent.

The rest of the project seemed likely, notwithstanding the reluctance of the emperor, to form a base for negotiation, when the premature announcement of the plan in agitation, in the speech of the King of England to his parliament, raised a cry in France against the terms pro-

* Life of Sir R. Walpole.

1735. posed; and Fleury, dreading the loss of his power, retracted his promised consent.* In this state of affairs, the English House of Commons raised the navy to 30,000 seamen, and the army to 38,000 men, besides 6,000 Danes. The emperor's hopes were again excited; but, to his mortification and surprise, after some vain attempts to induce the Dutch to arm, the English government informed the court of Vienna that they could not enter into the war without Holland, and that the emperor was at liberty to form a separate agreement with his enemies.

Preparations
of England.

In the midst of these negotiations the war languished. A Russian army of 10,000 men appeared on the Rhine, and surprised all who saw them by their discipline and good conduct; but no action of consequence took place. In Italy, the surrender of Messina and Syracuse to the Spaniards completed the conquest of Sicily. Mantua likewise might have fallen, had not Fleury and the King of Sardinia, from a mutual jealousy of the Spaniards, obstructed the siege. Such was the position of the hostile armies, when a minister of France, at a neutral court, meeting Count Zinzendorff, proposed a negotiation directly between France and Austria. The proposal being favourably received, M. de la Baune was sent from Paris with full powers; and in a very short time the preliminaries of peace were signed at Vienna, most unexpectedly to the rest of Europe. By these preliminaries: 1. Stanislaus was to renounce the crown of Poland, and to have Lorraine and Bar after the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany: these provinces

October 3.
Preliminaries
of peace.

* Life of Sir R. Walpole.

were eventually to belong to France. 2. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, after the death of the reigning duke, was to pass to the Duke of Lorraine and his heirs. 3. Naples and Sicily, with Porto Longone, were assured to Don Carlos. 4. The King of Sardinia to have either Novara and Tortona, or Tortona and the Vigevanasco. 5. The emperor to have the Duchies of Parma and Placentia; and the conquests made by the French in Italy and Germany to be restored to him. 6. The King of France guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of 1713. This article was the motive of the emperor for the sacrifices made in the former part of the treaty; and till he obtained a full confirmation of it he would not ratify the peace. To this it was owing that the definitive treaty was not signed till more than three years after the preliminaries. 1735.

The articles which regarded the cession of Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, the provinces ceded to the King of Sardinia, and the acquisition of Parma and Placentia by the emperor, did not materially differ from the plan of pacification concerted with Sir Robert Walpole; but the article concerning Lorraine and Bar was a material alteration in favour of Stanislaus and of France. The article introduced into the preliminaries was more than confirmed in the definitive treaty. Lorraine was immediately ceded to Stanislaus, upon condition of a pension of 450,000 livres to the duke till he should inherit Tuscany. It is said, that the first hint of the arrangement, by which Lorraine fell eventually to France, was given by Chauvelin, driving on the tardy nature of the cardinal, who was timid in taking advantage of his success, as he had been

Definitive treaty.
Nov. 8, 1738.

1738. backward in undertaking the enterprise. Before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, however, Chauvelin was disgraced. He was an able man; but, puffed up with success, he attempted to continue the war and conduct the state, in spite of the cardinal. The courtiers said, "Chauvelin *filched* the war from Fleury; but Fleury *filched* the peace from Chauvelin."

Position of
the states
of Europe.

Let us now consider the changes made in the power and position of the different states by this short war.

Russia was evidently a gainer. Her arms had given a king to Poland, and the spirit of Peter the Great seemed to animate her counsels, no less than her commanders. It was a new thing for Europe to see a Russian army upon the Rhine; and it must have been mortifying to the sovereign of Germany to resort to such means for the defence of the territory of the empire against the generals of Lewis the Fifteenth.

The emperor had been no less evidently a loser in this war. The cession of Lorraine to France was no small addition to the power of his hereditary enemy; and the transfer of Naples and Sicily to a prince of the house of Bourbon was mortifying to his pride. Sir Robert Walpole, when defending his own conduct in parliament, asserted indeed, that Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, were an equivalent for Naples and Sicily: but such an assertion was calculated only to impose on the country gentlemen of the House of Commons, proverbially ignorant of foreign affairs.

The conduct of England, or rather of the English minister, seems to have been grounded on two considerations.

The one was a repugnance to enter into war without the assistance of Holland, who was bound by the same treaties of guarantee, and who was looked upon, since the time of William the Third, as the necessary ally of England, both in defending her liberty at home, and maintaining the balance of power abroad. The other was the apprehension, which seems to have been always entertained by Walpole, that the Hanover dynasty had not yet taken root sufficient to enable it to withstand, without peril, the tempest of war. The events which happened a few years afterwards justify this opinion, and form the only possible defence for allowing the house of Austria to be trampled upon by France, without stirring a finger in her behalf. The counsels of Holland seem to have been influenced, not so much by any partiality for France, as by that diffidence in her own strength, and caution in the use of her power, which attends the old age of states. On this subject, however, enough has already been said. 1736.

The greatest gainer in this war was undoubtedly France. Her armies triumphed both in Italy and in Germany. She had, for the first time, reaped the advantage of the succession of a Bourbon to the throne of Spain. The rivalry between the two crowns, which had begun with Ferdinand the Catholic, and continued through so many bloody wars, had now yielded to a family alliance, and France had no longer to defend the frontier of the Pyrenees: it only remained for the French ministry to preserve in peace the connexion which had been formed for the purposes of war. Nor were these the only advantages which accrued to France in this short contest: the

1736. acquisition of Lorraine was a solid addition to her territory. It may be observed of this power, that her long wars and splendid victories have never tended so much to her aggrandisement as skilful counsels and short expeditions. Alsace was acquired by the timid but sagacious Mazarin; Franche Comté by Lewis the Fourteenth, after a war scarcely remembered; and, lastly, Lorraine by the old and peaceable Fleury. On the other hand, the glories which obtained for Lewis the title of Great, and the far more brilliant conquests of the republic and empire, all ended in discomfiture and restitution. The reason is, perhaps, that France is never wanting in strength and valour; but that an open and insolent display of her force always tends, sooner or later, to unite all Europe in confederacy against her.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, who saw his dominions disposed of in so unexpected a manner, asked, with some peevishness, if they would not give him a third heir, and whether France and the emperor could not produce another child for him. Such was the last repartee of the house of Medicis, once so famous for wit and wisdom.

War of Austria and Russia against Turkey.

A war between Russia and Austria on the one side, and Turkey on the other, next attracted the attention of Europe. Peter the Great, among other vast projects, had intended to form a settlement on the Sea of Azof, and open a communication between his dominions and the Black Sea; but the disastrous termination of the war he undertook with these views, obliged him to give up conquest for safety. Since that disastrous time, Russia, employed with other schemes and internal dissensions, appeared to have relinquished the design; and it was

not till 1735 that the Empress Anne again directed the Russian arms towards the Black Sea. She aimed, not only at the recovery of the possessions ceded by Peter the Great, but likewise at the entire conquest of the Crimea. In 1736, Marshal Munich overran the whole country without serious opposition; while General Lacey, at the head of another body, took Azof, after a siege of twelve days.*

1736.
Marshal Munich overruns the Crimea.

The Emperor of Germany was excited by these successes to attempt an aggression of his own; so that when the Turks asked for his mediation, and Russia claimed a succour of 30,000 men, stipulated by a treaty of 1726, the emperor consulted a council of ministers and generals on the expediency of making war on his own account. The council gave a decided answer in the negative; but the emperor, before he consulted them, had already determined on war, and promised the czarina to employ his whole force against Turkey in the ensuing spring.†

At the time the emperor formed this determination, his army was weak, his finances burdened, and he had lately lost, by the death of Eugene, the only master-spirit who could make his councils and his generals act in harmony together. Eugene had recommended General Seckendorf as the man most fit to succeed him in the command of the army; and the emperor followed his recommendation: but Seckendorf had to struggle against the jealousy of the council, who, from Vienna, directed the operations of war without the smallest spark of military knowledge or judgment: he had, at the same time, to contend against the

1737.

* Manstein. Levesque.

† House of Austria.

1737. . enmity of the Jesuits, who hated him because he was a Lutheran, and of many of the generals, who envied him because he was preferred. He found the army in the most deplorable state of poverty and distress; the frontier fortresses so neglected as to be incapable of defence, and the governors totally regardless of their duties: still, with the help of the Russians, he hoped to make an impression on Turkey. He proposed that the Russian army, after taking Bender, should direct their march along the Danube towards the Pruth, while the imperialists should commence by the siege of Widdin, and advance through Turkish Wallachia, either to form a junction with the Russians, or enclose the Turks between two fires. But the courtiers and clerks in office defeated this plan. Just as the campaign commenced, they sent orders to Seckendorf to commence by the siege of Nissa, at the extremity of Servia: the march alone occupied twenty-eight days. He took

Bad success
of the Aus-
trians.

The Russians
take Otchá-
kof, July 13.

1738.

Siege of Or-
sova by the
Turks.
They are de-
feated by the
Austrians,
July 4.

Nissa; but the scheme of the campaign was defeated, and at the end of it Seckendorf was thrown into prison, where he remained during the rest of the emperor's reign. The Russians, on their side, took Otchákof, with the loss of 16,000 men.

The following year the emperor gave the command of his army, under the Duke of Lorraine, to Marshal Königsegg, a nobleman of sound talents, but apt to despond, and unequal to a task of so much difficulty. The Turkish Pasha of Widdin was the first to move; he laid siege to Orsova, situated on an island in the Danube. Upon the advance of Königsegg, he attacked the Austrian army without success, and was obliged to abandon the siege.

This event caused great joy at Vienna, but of brief duration: Konigsegg was obliged to retreat in his turn, the Turks took Orsova, and the imperial army, weakened by sickness, disorders, and the incapacity of its chiefs, retired first within the lines of Belgrade, and then behind the walls of the fortress. The Duke of Lorraine was sent with terms of peace, but presently recalled.

1738.

Capture of
Orsova by
the Turks,
Aug. 9.

The campaign on the side of the Russians, though not disastrous, was not marked by any brilliant success. Lacey, after taking Perekop, and Munich, after some partial victories, both retired, at the approach of winter, into the Ukraine.

Konigsegg, like Seckendorf, was deprived of his command, and of the presidency of the council of war; but, instead of being sent to a dungeon, an office was given to him in the household of the empress; a destination scarcely less humiliating to a general-in-chief. The command of the army was given to Marshal Wallis, partly because he had distinguished himself in the last campaign, and partly because he had blamed every thing that had been done. But he only furnished another proof, how much easier it is to find faults than not to commit them, and that a good second is often but an indifferent head. His plan was to lay siege to Orsova; and in order to effect this object with more ease, he projected a surprise of a separate body of Turks who were posted near Crotzka. He led his army through a defile in the neighbourhood of that place, which, after some resistance, he cleared; but had scarcely passed it, when the grand vizier, who had marched in the night from Semendria, appeared on the hills between the

1739.

1739.

The Aus-
trians de-
feated at
Crotzka,
July 21.

defile and Crotzka. At this unexpected sight, the regiment of Savoy fled back into the defile; but the rest of the troops advanced and took up a strong position, where they withstood the attacks of the Turks from five in the morning till after sunset. The Turkish army attacked not only with the most ardent courage, but with a steadiness and order of which they were supposed incapable. The imperialists left 7000 men on the field. Wallis retreated during the night, and regained his camp at Vinza, where he withstood a second attack, headed by the grand vizier in person. But, confounded by the promptitude of the Turks and his own losses, he continued his retreat, first to the lines of Belgrade, and then twice crossing the Danube, marched to Salankemen, on the frontiers of Hungary, leaving Belgrade exposed to the advancing Musselmen. The Turkish army urged the grand vizier by their clamours to hasten the siege; exclaiming, with fury, "Let us take advantage of the panic and blindness with which God has afflicted the infidels for violating the peace of Passarovitz."

Siege of
Belgrade by
the Turks,
August.

While the grand vizier, taking advantage of this ardour, surrounded Belgrade, Wallis, tormented with despair and an ague, sent letters to Vienna to inform the emperor that his army was diminished by sickness, and could no longer be depended upon. Still further alarmed by a report from Belgrade that a breach had been made in one of the bastions, he sent an officer to purchase peace by the cession of that important place.

The imperial council, instead of attempting a remedy for impending evils, vented themselves in reproaches against one another for past misfortunes. The nobility of Hungary

seemed indifferent to whom they belonged. The emperor, irritated at his general, transferred the full powers he had given him for concluding peace to Count Neuperg, and sent General Schmettau to take the command at Belgrade. Schmettau executed his commission with that spirit and confidence which had hitherto been so much wanting. He convinced Wallis that there was hitherto no breach in the wall of Belgrade, and that with its garrison of 12,000 men it might hold out successfully. Reaching the place, he put himself at the head of a detachment, and drove the Turks from a redoubt which they occupied. The whole army, resuming their courage, prepared to attack the Turks, and excited one another by calling to mind the victory of Eugene on the same ground.

1739.

Neuperg
sent to make
peace.

While these things were performing at Belgrade, Neuperg executed his commission in a very different manner. He had been taught to expect the mediation of Villeneuve, the ambassador of France, in negotiating the terms of peace; but, without waiting for his arrival, he ventured directly into the Turkish camp, shewed his full powers, and offered the cession of Wallachia, provided Orsova were dismantled. The Pasha of Bosnia spat in his face, and said, "Infidel dog! thou provest thyself a spy, with thy full powers. Since thou hast brought no letter from the Vizier Wallis, and hast concealed his offer to yield Belgrade, thou shalt be sent to Constantinople, to receive the punishment thou deservest." Neuperg was then closely confined, and not released till the arrival of the French ambassador. But even then he learnt nothing more than Villeneuve was pleased to tell him; for he had himself, in passing through

1739. Belgrade, desired that no letters might be forwarded to him. Villeneuve told him that no negotiation could be commenced without the cession of Belgrade; and that, even were the grand vizier disposed to yield that point, the Turks would rise, and rather massacre the pashas than be deprived of such a conquest. Neuperg, who had brought with him a stock of consternation from Vienna, where the inhabitants expected to see the Turks arrive, was easily impressed with additional alarms, and in the utmost fear and trembling signed the preliminaries of peace. By the terms therein contained, Austria yielded all those parts of Wallachia, Servia, and Bosnia, she had acquired at the peace of Passarovitz, together with Belgrade and Szabatch, after the new fortifications had been demolished: the sultan was likewise to retain the fortress of Orsova, which his arms had conquered, and the emperor consented to destroy the fortifications of Meadia. One of the gates of Belgrade was to be immediately delivered, as a security, to a body of Janissaries.

Sept. 1.
Peace of
Belgrade.

The news of the signature of a peace so dishonourable to Austria, was received with indignation in the imperial court and army. At Belgrade, Neuperg found that letters from the emperor, which he had himself directed might not be forwarded, contained positive orders not to yield Belgrade. Marshal Wallis was, with the greatest difficulty, prevailed on to surrender one of the gates. The troops asked with clamour to be led against the enemy. The emperor published a rescript, in which he threw all the blame on Neuperg and Wallis. It was every where reported that Villeneuve had orders from his court to weaken Austria

and Russia, and maintain the Porte in his ancient possessions. In the midst of all these outcries, however, Neuperg was sent back to conclude the definitive treaty, which did not materially differ from the preliminaries. The only essential alteration was, that Russia was now included in the treaty. During the late campaign, the Russian arms had been attended with far better success than those of Austria. A great part of Moldavia, with Jassy, the capital, had fallen into their possession. But the czarina did not chuse to carry on the war alone. By the terms agreed upon, Azof was to be demolished, and Taganrog not to be restored; the empress was to relinquish her claim to the navigation of the Black Sea.

1738.

This war served to demonstrate that the Turkish power was not so fallen, nor her neighbours so powerful, as some had imagined; and that, whatever might be the final destiny of the Ottoman empire, its hour was not yet come. It likewise exhibited to the world the miserable decrepitude of the Austrian government. Hostilities commenced to gratify the despotic vanity and rapacity of the sovereign; conducted capriciously in the council, and ingloriously in the field; concluded, after the most extravagant projects of ambition, in panic and dishonour, were glaring signs of decline and decay. Much of the blame was imputed, and no doubt justly, to the private council of the emperor, consisting of two secretaries and a door-keeper, who directed, or rather mis-directed, the movements of the armies, ordering impossible operations, and disturbing every rational plan of campaign. But how

1737. fallen is the country where uncontrolled sway is allowed to such a senate!

Disputes of
England and
Spain.

While Austria and Russia in vain attempted to despoil Turkey, disputes arose in another quarter. The commercial enterprise of England and the jealous dominion of Spain had clashed in the New World. It was not till the reign of Charles the Second of England, that the Spanish government had relaxed somewhat of the absurd claim, by which, in virtue of a bull of Alexander the Sixth, she arrogated to herself the whole empire of America. In 1667, a treaty of commerce between England and Spain provided that a free navigation should be permitted in all places where trade had been before carried on. This cautious sanction, however, was again limited by a reserved right to search merchant ships sailing near the ports and in the seas belonging to the respective countries, and to confiscate contraband goods. Doubts arose on the interpretation of these vague words, and a new treaty was formed three years after the former, openly and directly regulating the intercourse between the two nations in the American sea. The subjects of each were prohibited from trading with the colonies of the other, unless furnished with a license by the government to which the colony belonged. But by another article, British ships in distress were allowed to take refuge in Spanish harbours. Under cover of this permission, a large contraband trade sprung up; and as long as the house of Austria reigned in Spain, political motives induced the government to connive at an intercourse which the treaty had not sanctioned.

But when the house of Bourbon obtained the throne of Spain, her policy was totally reversed, and hostile jealousy took the place of friendly indulgence. The treaty of Utrecht, however, introduced new relations between the two countries. The South Sea Company, by a contract, called the *Asiento*, were authorised to introduce 4800 negroes yearly into the Spanish colonies, and to send an annual ship, of a stipulated burden, to Vera Cruz. No other commerce was authorised or permitted. 1737.

These stipulations led to frequent disputes and jarring pretensions. The Spaniards complained that the annual ship was followed by several other vessels, which moored at a distance, and supplied it with fresh goods as it entered the harbour; that English vessels continually put into the Spanish harbours under pretence of refitting, and disposed of European merchandise, in exchange for gold and silver, almost without concealment; that other vessels, sailing near their ports and harbours, were repaired to by smugglers, or sent their boats on shore with goods. The English, on the other hand, complained of acts of violence and cruelty committed by the Spanish *guarda-costas*, the delays of Spanish tribunals, and the injustice of Spanish governors. No doubt the complaints of both were well founded. The pretensions of the two parties were, in fact, irreconcilable. "The English always thought that they were unjustly taken, if they were not taken in actual illicit commerce, even though proofs of their having laden in that manner were found on board; and the Spaniards, on the other hand, presumed they had a right of seizing, not only the ships that were continually trading in their ports,

1737. but likewise of examining them on the high seas, in order to search for proofs of fraud which they might have committed."* These opposite claims were not unnatural. On the one part, it is the very soul of commerce to be enterprising and encroaching, and an abuse long exercised comes to be considered a right. On the other hand, the ministers of Spain were busy with plans of making that kingdom commercial and manufacturing. The example of England tempted them; and, instead of attributing her commerce to her capital, her capital to her industry, and her industry to her freedom, they found the solution of her prosperity in her navigation act, and imagined that a country which possessed such ample dominions as those of Spain in America, had only to shut out all other nations, to be at once a great commercial and naval power.

Amicable means of adjustment had been employed, but hitherto without success. A cedula of the King of Spain ordered his subjects, in terms, to refrain from committing outrages on English vessels; but a saving clause, drawn up vaguely, reserved the right of search. In point of fact, the Spaniards determined to put an end, if possible, to the illicit traffic, increased the strength of their cruisers, and aggravated the violence of their conduct.

In this state of affairs, a petition was presented to the King of England by a large body of merchants trading to the West Indies, stating specific cases of illegal captures

* Mr. Keene to the Duke of Newcastle. December 1737. Life of Sir R. Walpole.

and confiscations. In consequence of this petition, a strong memorial was drawn up by the Duke of Newcastle, and sent to Madrid, where it was presented to the King of Spain; but no satisfactory answer was returned. When the House of Commons met, the opposition did not fail to declaim against the Spanish depredations, and moved that the merchants and traders who petitioned the house should be heard by themselves and counsel. The minister objected to hearing counsel, when the object was to obtain facts; observing, that there was no occasion to work upon the passions where the head was to be informed. To these remarks Alderman Willimot replied with great warmth:—

1738.

Petition to
the English
parliament,
March.

“ Sir, I think the petitioners ought to have liberty to be heard, not only by themselves and counsel, but if it were possible that we could indulge them in other advantages, we ought to do it. To talk of working upon the passions! can any man’s passions be wound up to a greater height? can any man’s indignation be more raised, than every free-born Englishman’s must be, when he reads a letter, which I received this morning, and which I have now in my hand? This letter gives an account that seventy of our brave sailors are now in chains in Spain. Our countrymen in chains! and slaves to Spaniards! Is not this enough to fire the coldest? Is not this enough to rouse all the vengeance of national resentment? And shall we sit here debating about words and forms, while the sufferings of our countrymen call loudly for redress?”

This speech was followed by a motion for papers, which gave rise to a series of invectives, directed no less against the timidity of the British minister than the cruelty of the

1738. Spanish marine. To these declamations Sir R. Walpole replied, with temper and good sense, —

“ It is, without doubt, a very popular way of arguing, to talk highly of the honour, the courage, and the superior power, of this nation; and I believe I have as good an opinion of the honour, courage, and power of this nation, as any man can, or ought to have: but other nations must be supposed to have honour as well as we, and all nations generally have a great opinion of their own courage and power. If we should come to an open rupture with Spain, we might, in all probability, have the advantage; but victory and success do not always attend upon that side which seems to be the most powerful. An open war, therefore, between two powerful nations must always be an affair of the deepest importance to both; and as this may be the consequence of our deliberations, we ought to proceed with coolness and with the utmost caution.”

Story of Jenkins's ears.

Although the minister as yet retained his majority, the public mind was daily inflamed by the examinations, at the bar of the house, of captains and seamen, who complained of their sufferings, and asked loudly for redress. They affirmed that ships navigating the open sea were stopped and pillaged, the crews loaded with irons, and compelled to work in the Spanish dock-yards, fed upon loathsome food, and even tortured by their barbarous captors. One Jenkins, especially, the master of a Scottish merchant ship, excited a cry of indignation in the house, which was echoed with double force by the country. He stated, that after an ineffectual search for contraband goods, the Spaniards tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner, if they

should have an opportunity. They hanged him up three times, he said, and threatened him with immediate death. Being asked by a member, what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, he eloquently replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." Although this anecdote was somewhat stale, the thing having happened no less than seven years before, it created the most profound impression. It was with the greatest difficulty that Walpole preserved some measure in the resolutions of the Commons; and in the House of Lords the ministers themselves adopted and supported motions of a most hostile tendency.

1738.

During the recess, an attempt was made to settle these differences by amicable negotiation. At length, after many difficulties, a convention was signed at Madrid, providing that plenipotentiaries should meet at that place, to regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as the other points which remained to be adjusted, according to former treaties. The plenipotentiaries were to finish their conferences within eight months. A sum of 95,000*l.* was to be paid as an indemnity for the claims of British subjects. At the time of signing the convention, however, the Spanish minister delivered a protest, declaring that the King of Spain reserved to himself the right of suspending the Asiento treaty, should the South Sea Company not pay the sum of 68,000*l.*, which he asserted to be due.

1739.

January 14,
Convention
of the Pardo.

When this convention arrived in England, the public mind was inflamed to a pitch of fury. Nothing but a

Debates in
parliament.

1739. positive abandonment of the right of search, and a payment of 340,000*l.* as a satisfaction for British claims, was likely to appease the nation. It may be imagined, therefore, how strong was the opposition when parliament met. Mr. Horace Walpole, after explaining, at great length, the purport and objects of the convention, moved an address of approbation. It was allowed by the preamble, that searching of ships had been a cause of complaint, and had led to grievances which, without future care, might occasion an open rupture between the two crowns. These terms could not be applied to the exercise of a just right, and it was a natural inference that Spain intended to disclaim her right in the definitive treaty. The chief question, therefore, was, whether England ought now to go to war, or to grant a delay of eight months for giving full satisfaction and absolute security. In support of the latter of these alternatives, he enlarged somewhat imprudently on the want of allies, the connexion between France and Spain, the burdens already weighing upon the people, and the danger of the pretender. The address which he moved expressed "a reliance on the king, that effectual care would be taken for establishing the freedom of navigation in the American seas; that British subjects may enjoy, unmolested, their undoubted right of navigating and trading to and from any part of his majesty's dominions, without being liable to be stopped, visited, or searched, in the open seas." The deprecating, and almost humble, tone adopted towards the opposition, was met by them in a voice of loud and un-

March 8.

Mr. Pitt.

measured indignation. Mr. Pitt, who now gave an earnest

of that eloquence which was destined to raise him to so high a station in the country, complained in the strongest terms of the disingenuous manner in which it was attempted to extort an approbation of the convention, instead of meeting openly the direct judgment and sentence of parliament upon the several articles. Appealing to the sentiment of national pride, he is reported to have said:—

1739.

“ Is this any longer a nation? Is this any longer an English parliament, if, with more ships in your harbours than are contained in all the navies of Europe, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention, which carries downright subjection in every line? The great national objection, the searching of ships, stands in the preamble of the convention, as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission which follows. On the part of Spain, a usurpation, an inhuman tyranny, claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature, declared and asserted in the resolution of parliament, are now referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries, on one and the same equal foot. This undoubted right is to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, this right is, by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limits. This convention, Sir, I think, from my soul, is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce, without the suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England, a suspension, as to Georgia, of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipo-

1739. tentiaries; and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament, and the gracious promise of the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, the voice of England, has condemned it; be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser; God forbid that this committee should share the crime by approving it!"*

This heated declamation, though it may not be conveyed to us in the words, no doubt expresses the spirit of what was said by Mr. Pitt. The notion that a right, if regulated by just and proper limits, ceases to be a right, is indeed obviously unsound; but illogical argument is frequent in the speeches of this great orator: so that, while Walpole used homely language to convey sound sense, Pitt, amid the blaze of splendid diction, often concealed a very flimsy argument.

Littleton, a young orator on the same side, maintained that our ships ought not to be searched on any pretence.

In opposition to these inconsiderate claims and thoughtless invectives, Sir Robert Walpole boldly declared it to be his greatest boast at present, and would be his greatest honour in succeeding times, to be mentioned as the minister who had endeavoured by this convention to prevent the necessity of making war upon a nation with whom it was our greatest interest to be at peace, at a time when the doubtful situation of Europe gave us little hopes of assistance, and raised well-founded apprehensions of being attacked by other powers.

* From the London Magazine.

1739.

"It is laid down as a maxim, that we ought immediately to enter into a war, and nothing is allowed for the uncertainty of the event; for the interruption of commerce, and the prodigious expense with which it would be attended. But should we even lay aside these considerations, are we to have no regard to common justice? to those treaties, the observance of which has been so justly contended for? They prohibit all trade with the Spanish West Indies, excepting that carried on by the annual Asiento ship. In contradiction, then, to these express stipulations, are our ships never to be searched, and is the trade to the Spanish West Indies to lie open to every interloper? For what difference is there between throwing that trade open, and having a liberty not only of approaching their coasts, but even of hovering on them as long as we please, without being stopped or searched? These are the unjust concessions which the advocates of war require. The convention, on the contrary, stipulates that the treaties subsisting between the two crowns should be the rule for settling disputes relating to trade. We are, therefore, in no danger; because all we ought in reason to claim, is the observance of those treaties."

The address was carried by a majority of only twenty-eight, in a house of four hundred and ninety-two members. This victory was equivalent to a defeat. The minister, opposed by the king, by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Harrington, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Wilmington in the cabinet, overborne by clamour in the city and the country, was obliged to ask for a large vote of credit, and to despatch a fleet, under Admiral Haddock, to the Mediterranean. The sensitive mind of Philip the Fifth was offended by these demonstrations, and provoked at the language which had been held in parliament. When the plenipotentiaries met, in

1739.

pursuance of the convention, La Quadra, the Spanish minister, declared, that nothing but the most rigid justice could be granted to England while the British fleet remained at Gibraltar. Philip himself, in a public audience, complained of the insult offered to his honour, and declared his resolution to revoke the Asiento, since the South Sea Company refused the payment of the sum he had claimed. Finally, the Spanish minister declared, that the negotiation could not be renewed without a preliminary admission of the right of search.

Negotiations
broken off.

The hostile spirit of Spain was now manifest. The British government, on their side, made inadmissible proposals, and all negotiation ceased. It must be admitted, that the free constitution of England was a great obstacle to the maintenance of peace. While the warm invectives of the opposition offended the pride of Philip, the seeming despair of success expressed by the ministry gave encouragement to his ambition. An evil of this kind is part of the price paid by a nation for a great blessing.

Spanish
manifesto.

The Spanish declaration of war was accompanied by a statement of the conduct of Spain and England for many years back. As a set-off to the tales which had been told in the British parliament, the Spanish manifesto, besides affirming that seventy Spaniards had been massacred by the English, contained a story which seems intended as a counterpart to the narrative of Jenkins; but, instead of one ear, the Spaniard lost both ears and his nose, and, to complete the tragedy, he was forced to eat them. The cry of offended honour and injured trade made as mighty a sound in Spain as in England; so that the two nations

entered into the war with all the exasperation of a private and deep-rooted enmity. 1739.

War against Spain was declared by England on the 23d of October. But already, in the month of July, Admiral Vernon had sailed for the West Indies. He had affirmed in the House of Commons, that he could take Porto Bello with six men-of-war; the minister gave him nine, and sent him to accomplish his boast. The ministry could not be a loser: his success would strengthen the government; and his failure would disgrace the opposition. October.
English de-
claration of
war.

Admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica on the day on which war was proclaimed in England. He had the satisfaction, when off Port Royal, to see two Spanish prizes brought in, one of which contained 120,000 pieces of eight. Taking with him only six ships, he came in sight of Porto Bello on the 20th of November, in the evening. Porto Bello is situated on the north coast of the isthmus of Darien; the town stands at the bottom of a small bay, and is defended by a castle and two forts, one of which, called the Iron Fort, is placed at the mouth of the harbour. Expedition
under Admi-
ral Vernon.

On the 21st, in the morning, the admiral weighed and plied to windward. The rest of the squadron followed in order of battle. One of his ships anchored close to the Iron Fort, and for twenty minutes seemed to be in a blaze of fire. Three other ships, including the Burford, in which the admiral sailed, came to her assistance; the admiral placed his ship as near the fort as possible, and, driving the Spaniards from the lower battery by means of his small arms, ordered the men to land. This order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity; the sailors scaled the walls, and November.

1739. pulled the soldiers up after them. The garrison surrendered at discretion: out of three hundred men, only forty remained alive. The impatience of the English seamen was conspicuous. As they were marching to the assault, the officer suddenly calling halt! one of the sailors exclaimed, with an oath, "Captain, don't let's *halt* till we're *crippled*."

Nov. 22.
Capture of
Porto Bello.

The admiral was concerting an attack on the castle, when a flag of truce appeared, and offered terms. Vernon agreed that the garrison should march out, and that the inhabitants should be protected. On these terms he got possession of the town, with two guarda-costas in the harbour. After demolishing the fortifications, he returned to Jamaica.*

The news of this success was received in England with extravagant joy. For some time the ears of the nation had been stunned with the name of Porto Bello, as the great refuge of the guarda-costas. Its capture, however easily effected, raised the name of Vernon to the highest popularity. No Roman consul was ever more honoured by his countrymen. The inaction of a long peace made the nation fire at the first sound of glory, with the impatience and anxiety of a war-horse who has been long left to repose.

From the beginning of the war, two considerable squadrons were kept on the Spanish coast: the one, under Sir Chaloner Ogle, had its chief station at Gibraltar; the other, under Rear-Admiral Haddock, at Minorca. These fleets cruised in the neighbouring seas, and confined themselves

* Tindal. Campbell. Coxe.

to the capture of a few trading vessels. In the mean time, 1739.
the trade of England suffered severely. Swarms of privateers issued from the Spanish ports, manned principally by French sailors. Within three months after the publication of the order for reprisals, eighteen English ships were carried into the port of St. Sebastian alone: before the end of the first year, the amount of captures was valued at 234,000*l.*; and before the close of the following year, the list of prizes was swelled to more than four hundred ships, valued at above a million sterling.*

The English nation, however, was inflamed with Vernon's success; the House of Commons voted 28,000 land forces; and the ministry, partaking in the general enthusiasm, resolved to prepare a grand expedition for the West Indies. For this purpose, a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line, with frigates and transports, amounting altogether to 170 sail, was prepared at Portsmouth. They did not sail from St. Helen's till the middle of November: the delay in their departure, like every thing else in those days, was attributed to the negligence of Sir Robert Walpole. But the fact is, that the whole conduct of this expedition was left to Sir Charles Wager, the Duke of Newcastle, and the other members of the ministry; Walpole only making a peevish remonstrance now and then against the plan of sending every disposable ship to the West Indies. The chief reason of the delay seems to have been, the difficulty of preparing so large a fleet at the commencement of a war; but Sir Charles Wager consoled himself for this in-

Grand expedition against Spanish America.

1740.

* Mem. of Kings of Spain.

1740. convenience, by observing, that a French fleet, which had sailed some months before for the same destination, would be "half burnt, half starved, half dead."* It is astonishing he should not have reflected, that the climate which destroyed his rival would likewise destroy his own men.

Arrives at
Jamaica,
Jan. 1741.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica in the beginning of January, and placed himself under the command of Admiral Vernon. A severe calamity had happened in the way; Lord Cathcart, who commanded the land forces, died of a dysentery in the island of Dominica, and his post devolved on General Wentworth, an officer without experience or ability. Vernon, who required the check of a colleague of reputation, despised the counsels, and set at nought the proposals, of this inefficient coadjutor.

March 4.
Appears be-
fore Cartha-
gena.

The expedition did not sail from Jamaica till near the end of January. It now consisted of thirty ships of the line, with frigates, fire-ships, and transports, to the amount of 120 sail, carrying 15,000 seamen and 14,000 land forces, including four battalions raised in America, and 500 negroes from Jamaica. With this formidable force the chiefs resolved to attack Carthagena: it was the 4th of March, however, before the fleet appeared in the bay of that name, and the 9th before they commenced operations.

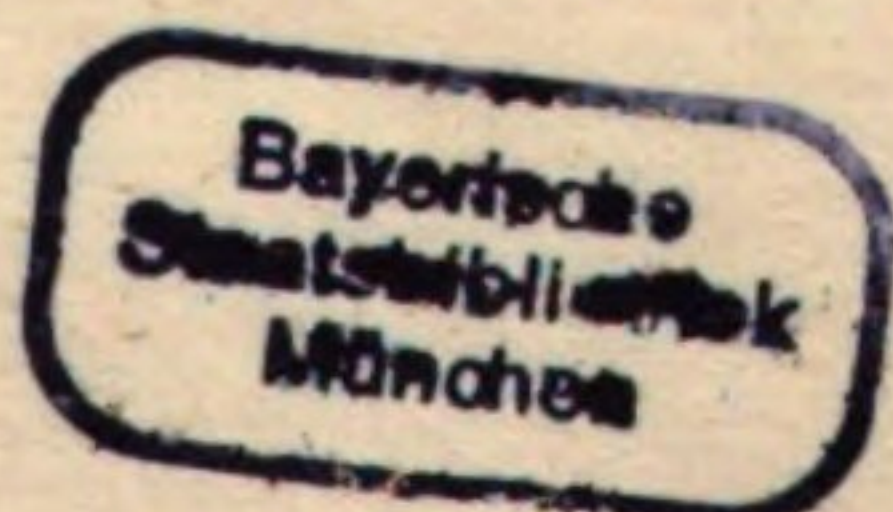
Carthagena was strongly provided with means of defence both by nature and by art. The entrance to the harbour lies to the west of the city, and is formed by two peninsulas, each of which was strongly fortified by batteries. This entrance, which, from its narrowness, is called Bocca Chica,

* Tindal.

was guarded by a boom, fastened at each end with three strong cables: within the boom were moored four line-of-battle ships. Beyond this passage lay, not the harbour, but a long lake or basin, ending in another narrow entrance, the sides of which were fortified by a square castle mounting fifty-nine guns, and a horse-shoe battery. The passage was choked up by ships sunk to prevent the entrance of the enemy. Three miles further lay the city of Carthagena, surrounded with lakes and morasses, fortified with bastions furnished with three hundred pieces of cannon: two forts, on a hill above the town, formed outworks of great strength. The harbour was extremely shallow. 1741.

Such was the place which the ministry of England thought it expedient to seek out, on the map of the globe, as an object of attack.

On the 9th, the first division of the fleet moved forward March 9. towards the entrance known by the name of Bocca Chica, which was defended by several forts. The Norfolk, the Russell, and the Shrewsbury, anchored very near two of these, called Santiago and St. Philip; and, having silenced them in less than an hour, they were taken possession of by a detachment of grenadiers. On the 10th, two regiments of infantry and six regiments of marines were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba; two batteries, which had annoyed the fleet, were taken and destroyed by a party of seamen. On the 22d, General Wentworth opened a battery of twenty-four pounders against the castle of Bocca Chica: as soon as a breach was effected, a body of grenadiers was ordered to the assault, while a party of sailors made a



1741. diversion on the other side. The garrison abandoned the place without firing a shot; two Spanish men-of-war were taken, and one sunk by the Spaniards themselves: the sailors now cut the boom, and the whole fleet moved forward into the lake. The wind blowing fresh and contrary, however, it was several days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town.

April.
Result.

The entrance into the narrow harbour, as has been said, was defended by a square castle; this, however, called Castillo Grande, was abandoned upon the approach of the ships. Thus successful, the admiral, on the 1st of April, sent a messenger to the Duke of Newcastle with the most favourable account of his performance and prospects. But his hopes, and those which he excited in England, were destined to be too soon overthrown. Two frigates and three fire-ships having found a channel into the harbour through the wrecks sunk by the enemy, the troops landed on the 5th, and were led by General Wentworth to an open ground about a mile from Fort St. Lazar, which commanded the town. He proposed to make regular approaches, in order to possess himself of this fort: the admiral, on the contrary, was confident that it might be taken by escalade. From this time the efforts of both admiral and general seem to have been directed with a view to justify failure, rather than to promote success. It was at length agreed, that the advanced period of the season made it absolutely necessary either to storm the fort or abandon the enterprise. Twelve hundred men were put in motion at break of day, on the 9th, to attempt the assault. Unfortunately, their guides were

slain before they reached the fort; their scaling ladders proved too short; and, after much confusion, they retired with the loss of six hundred men of the flower of the army. The rainy season now set in; disease made dreadful ravages in the camp; and it was resolved to leave this fatal coast. The remnant of the troops were re-embarked on the 16th. Before the fleet sailed, the admiral, in order to clear himself from a charge made by the general of not cannonading the town, sacrificed a Spanish line-of-battle ship, in order to shew that the thing was impracticable; but his enemies said that he took care not to moor her where success was to be obtained. The fleet returned to Jamaica, where the fatal consequences of the expedition followed them. Many brave men, who would gladly have fallen in battle, died of disease: among the number was Lord Augustus Fitzroy. Eleven sail of the line were sent home by the admiral.

1741.

This expedition seems to have been originally planned on too large a scale. Hence it arrived at the scene of action too late; the discordant nature of the commanders did the rest. Vernon wished to do all by boldness; Wentworth by rule: Vernon, to trust every thing to fortune; Wentworth, nothing. Vernon seems to have been in the right till he was contradicted; he then lost his temper, and tarnished his former laurels.*

But a more extensive war now opens upon our view, and the contest between Spain and England merges in the general conflict of the allies of Austria on the one hand,

* Tindal. Historical Register, and the 1st vol. of Roderic Random.

1740. and those of France on the other. The events of the Spanish war, therefore, will for the future make only an underplot to the main story. Before we close the chapter, however, it may be well to glance at a memorable expedition, which is so much separated from the rest of the history of the war, that it may be conveniently divided from it.

Anson's
voyage.

The circumstances of Anson's voyage are interesting, both as they shew what may be accomplished by resolution, and also as they afford us a measure of the progress that has been made in navigating the American seas, and preserving the health of crews, since the middle of the last century.

As soon as the Spanish war was fully determined upon, Sir Charles Wager resolved to send two expeditions to attack Spain in her distant settlements: the one to proceed by the East Indies to Manilla; the other to go round Cape Horn, and range the coasts of Peru and Mexico, with a view of disturbing the Spanish trade. The former of these, however, was given up; the latter alone was persevered in, and the command given to Captain Anson, an officer of high reputation. Many delays and obstacles occurred in fitting out the squadron: instead of a body of land forces, which had been promised, the commander was ordered to take on board five hundred out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; the more active half of these deserted before they embarked; the rest, who were partly crippled by wounds, and partly disabled by age, were totally unfit for the fatigues of so long a voyage. Neither was the number of seamen complete; and it was not till

the 18th of September, the most unfavourable season of the year, that the squadron left St. Helen's. It consisted of the Centurion, of 60 guns; the Gloucester, of 50; the Severn, of 50; the Pearl, of 40; the Wager, of 28; the Tryal sloop, of 8; and two victualling pinks. They had on board about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines.

1740.
September.

It was not till they passed through Straits le Maire that any thing remarkable happened to the squadron; but from that day, which was the 7th of March, the tempests they encountered, and the sufferings they endured, were equal to any on record. The violence of the winds raised such short, and, at the same time, such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe. The ships rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave such quick and violent motions, that many accidents happened; some were thrown overboard, others broke their thighs, their arms, or their collarbone. These tempests lasted for many days together; and when, upon the weather proving more moderate, the commander ventured to make sail with his courses double-reefed, the wind would return with increased violence, and tear the sails from the yards. These blasts generally brought with them a quantity of snow and sleet, which froze the sails, and benumbed the limbs of the seamen. A current setting to the eastward obstructed their progress to an extraordinary degree, so that when they thought themselves already a good way in the Pacific Ocean, they suddenly discovered Cape Noir, which they all reckoned had been left ten degrees to the east. At this time their men were daily falling sick, and the hands were becoming less

1741.
Sufferings
from storms
and scurvy.
March.

1741. and less able to navigate the ship. Yet the commander resolved to "bear up and steer right onwards," in hopes that he should reach some place of refuge in time to refresh his crew and enable them to recover their fatigues. But the scurvy, in the meantime, made the most dreadful ravages. The Centurion alone lost upwards of two hundred men. This disease usually appeared in the form of large discoloured spots over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extreme lassitude. The effects were extraordinary; old wounds opened afresh; upon one of the invalids, who had been wounded at the battle of the Boyne, fifty years before, and cured soon after, his wounds appeared as fresh as if they had never been healed. Others, who were apparently recovered, who ate well, and spoke with a strong voice, yet on being moved, immediately expired. Any thing that sunk the spirits of the crew was sure to be fatal to many of the sick: on the other hand, any favourable event tended to recovery. The numbers of the dead and dying were such, that the ship could not be kept clean; and this filth added to the virulence of the disease.

In the course of the dreadful storms which they met with, the ships were separated, and the Centurion cruised in vain for a fortnight at the first place of rendezvous. On the 22d of May, when off the island of Chiloe, she encountered a gale more violent than any they had yet witnessed; so that it was determined to steer at once for the island of Juan Fernandez, in the great Pacific Ocean. On the 28th of May, the commodore was persuaded he saw the island; but the rest of the officers being of opinion that it was

only a cloud, and that he had got to the westward of it, it was resolved to stand more to the eastward till they should make the coast. By this error much time was lost, and between seventy and eighty men died, who, had they got to land, might have been saved. But good fortune was mixed with bad: it was afterwards ascertained that a Spanish squadron was at this time stationed off the island; and had the English ships, weakened as they were by sickness, met it separately, they might all have been taken. The commander of this squadron, concluding that the English had been lost in coming round Cape Horn, at length left the station; and on the 9th of June, a few days after, the Centurion made the island.

1741.

June.
Makes the
island of
Juan Fer-
nandez.

It would be impossible to describe adequately the delight felt by men in the situation of the crew of the Centurion at the prospect of such an island as that of Juan Fernandez. Hills, covered with wood, rose from the shore; beautiful green valleys, each with its rill of running water, lay between them. The first boat that went ashore brought back a quantity of grass, which the men devoured with avidity: good vegetables were afterwards discovered. The water was not inferior to any they had ever tasted. Fish was caught in plenty in the bays, one of which afforded excellent anchorage for the Centurion. The first care of the commander was to set up tents on the shore, and remove the sick from the ship: this operation, by reason of the want of hands, took some time, and many died, either in being removed, or soon afterwards; but the spirits of all being raised by the change from their late hardships to

1741. quiet, fresh food, and delightful prospects, the greater part recovered.

The chief productions of the island were turnips, Sicilian radishes, sorrel, and other vegetables. Captain Anson planted some peach and apricot stones, which flourished, and afforded fruit to subsequent navigators, who thanked him for this care. There had been many goats on the island; but as the place was a station for the buccaneers, the Spaniards had turned out wild dogs, who nearly extirpated them. Some, however, were taken, with the ears slit, — a sign they had been in the hands of Alexander Selkirk, when cast ashore on this island.

It was several weeks before the whole squadron was accounted for. The Tryal sloop arrived immediately after the Centurion; the Gloucester and the Anna pink some time later; the Wager had been lost on the coast; the Severn and Pearl had returned to Brazil. On reckoning up the loss of the three ships which had arrived at Juan Fernandez, it was found to be immense: out of 961, who had left England in the ships present, there remained alive only 335 men and boys. Among the invalids and marines the mortality was peculiarly great. In the Centurion, out of 50 invalids and 79 marines, there remained only 4 invalids and 11 marines. On board the Gloucester every invalid perished; and out of 48 marines, only 2 escaped. With this diminished and trifling force, however, Captain Anson was able to cause much loss and general terror to the Spaniards of South America.

His first prize was a merchant ship, from Callao to

Valparaiso, which came in sight of the island and of the English squadron. The commander ordered a chase: she proved to be laden with sugar, and had on board a considerable quantity of silver. 1741.

The squadron now received their orders: the Gloucester was sent to cruise off the high land of Paita; the Tryal off Valparaiso; the Anna pink had been broken up; the Centurion sailed to join the Tryal on the 19th of September.

When Captain Anson arrived on the station, he found that the Tryal had taken a prize, but that she was herself disabled by the springing of her masts; so he resolved to destroy her, and put her guns, together with those of the Anna pink, on board the prize. In running down to join the Gloucester, the Centurion took two other prizes: from one of them the commodore learnt that a considerable treasure was laid up in the custom-house of Paita, the governor of which place was fully aware of the English being on the coast. Anson, notwithstanding, resolved to surprise the place, and take the treasure. Among other reasons for this enterprise were, the want of live provisions, and the intelligence that the treasure in Paita was shortly to be sent to the coast of Mexico, in a fast-sailing vessel, which the Centurion, it was thought, would never be able to come up with.

The commodore, fearful of being discovered, would not approach the town in his ships; but when he was about five leagues from it, sent off fifty-eight men in boats, under the command of a lieutenant. Their success was complete: Takes Paita. landing in the night, they were supposed to be many more than they really were; the Spaniards fled to the neigh-

1741. bouring hills, the governor himself escaping from his bed in the utmost haste. For two days the English employed their boats in carrying away the treasure and the richest of the goods found in the town: on the third day the prisoners were all set on shore, and the town, with the exception of its two churches, set fire to and burnt. This exploit spread great terror all along the coast.

1742. After this, nothing very remarkable happened to the squadron for a long time. Being joined by the Gloucester, they went to take in water at the island of Quibo, and then proceeded to cruise off Acapulco for the Manilla ship. This ship was one sent annually from the port of Manilla to Mexico, which, after remaining some time in Acapulco, returned to Manilla with specie. The merchants of Spain were very jealous of a trade which introduced into Spanish America other than Spanish manufactures, and which carried American gold and silver to any but the mother country. They accordingly procured severe restrictions upon this commerce; but their regulations were evaded, and their confining the trade to a single ship only made that ship the more valuable. The cargo, consisting of Chinese silks, Indian calicoes and chintzes, fine goldsmiths' work, and other articles, was limited, in name, to the value of 600,000 dollars, but was supposed actually to be worth three millions. Of course the whole squadron were very anxious to intercept so rich a prize. Unfortunately, they were detained by baffling winds till some time after the ship entered Acapulco. They then determined to wait its return; but here again they were unfortunate; and after cruising some time, they discovered that one of their

boats had been seen from the shore, and the governor had resolved not to let the ship sail that year. On the other hand, the commodore was obliged to renounce a project he had formed for surprising the place, on account of a calm which always prevailed near the land during the night. 1742.

The commodore, after obtaining supplies of water in the harbour of Chequetan, resolved to sail for Canton in China. For this purpose, having destroyed the rest of his ships, which he had not strength enough to man, he sailed with the Centurion and the Gloucester, and lost sight of the land of Mexico on the 6th of May. Sails for Canton. May 6.

This voyage, however, which he hoped would be an easy and prosperous one, was attended with great disasters; for, instead of meeting the trade-winds where they expected, they fell in with adverse gales: the Gloucester lost her masts, and made so much water, that it was found necessary to remove her men on board the Centurion and destroy her. Besides this, the scurvy broke out with its former violence, even in spite of plenty of fresh fish and other fresh provisions, good water, and the utmost cleanliness; so that they came to the opinion (now proved to be unfounded), that there was something in the sea air productive of scurvy, more powerful than any antidote that could be used. At length, by great good fortune, a northerly current carried them so far from their course, that they made the island of Tinian, one of the Ladrões, then uninhabited. Here they were fully as much delighted as they had before been with Juan Fernandez: in addition to the shady woods and smooth lawns of that island, they had here the advantage of great numbers of wild cattle, wild boars, and wild Makes the island of Tinian.

1742. poultry, with a profusion of bread-fruit, which they used instead of bread during the whole period of their stay. For a time, indeed, those who landed suffered the greatest anxiety from the absence of the Centurion, which had been driven away at night by a storm. During this painful interval, the commodore, never wanting in firmness, induced the men who were with him to employ themselves in lengthening a boat they had taken, and in which he intended to traverse with those left on shore, 113 in number, the whole distance from Tinian to Macao, in China, near six hundred leagues. In preparing their boat, and the means of subsistence, Captain Anson and his officers shewed all that ingenuity and hardihood of mind which belong so peculiarly to British seamen. They contrived to make a bellows, and by great good luck found an old compass and a quadrant, the one in a boat, and the other in a chest. In order to provide for their subsistence during the voyage, they projected an expedition to a neighbouring island to bring away rice in despite of the Spanish garrison. In the midst of these cares, however, on the 11th of October, a seaman on some high land called out "A sail! a sail!" which was soon ascertained to be the Centurion. They now joyfully abandoned their work, and after some more perplexities set sail for Canton. They arrived at Macao on the 12th of November; and a day or two after went into the harbour of Typa. Here it was resolved to heave down the ship and stop a leak which had been discovered in her stern. This task was completed to the satisfaction of the commodore, who, when it was done, determined to put to sea,
- Oct. 11.
- Arrives at Canton, November.

and try again for the Manilla galleon. For being informed that the first land she always made was Cape Espiritu Santo, in Somal, one of the Philippine islands, he supposed that, by cruising off there at the appointed season, he could not fail to fall in with her. Nor were his hopes disappointed. On the 20th of June, a sail was discovered from the mast-head, which was soon confirmed to be the galleon, bearing down upon them. The commodore was rejoiced at this prospect, and placing his ship a little to the leeward of the Spaniard, to prevent their running for the shore, he began the engagement early in the afternoon, within pistol-shot. Instead of firing a broadside, he ordered the guns to be discharged one by one, as fast as they could be loaded. The galleon suffered so severely from this fire, and that of musketry, which was kept up from the tops, that she soon surrendered. She proved to be the Nuestra Señora di Cabadonga, carrying 36 guns, and 28 pedreroes, with a complement of 550 men, and a cargo of a million and a half of dollars. She had sixty-seven men killed and eighty-four wounded; while the Centurion had only two killed and seventeen wounded: of so much importance is the right management of the guns. Just as the galleon struck, a fire was discovered on board the Centurion near the powder-room; but it was happily got under, without doing further mischief.

1743.

June.
Takes a gal-
leon.

The commodore now removed the treasure on board the Centurion; and carrying his prize back to Canton, sold her there to the merchants. After this he set sail for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the 15th of June, 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months. In

1744.

June 15,
arrives at
Spithead.

1744. the course of this time he had taken treasure to the amount of 400,000*l.*, destroyed property to the value of 600,000*l.* more, and caused to the Spaniards infinite care and loss, together with the expense of a considerable squadron sent to oppose him, which never got round Cape Horn. Finally, the expedition of Anson proves, as the relator of his voyage has it, "that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet in a long series of transactions they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful."*

* Anson's Voyage round the World.

CHAPTER II.

Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Frederic of Prussia.

War of the Austrian Succession. Invasion of Silesia. Battle of Molwitz. Peace of Breslau. Battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. Invasion of Saxony. Peace of Dresden.

CHARLES the Sixth, Emperor of Germany, died on the 20th of October, 1740. For a long time he had occupied a prominent station on the theatre of Europe. During the Succession War he was the candidate of Germany and the maritime powers for the throne of Spain, against the grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth. He had afterwards ruled over Austria and Germany, directing one of the chief states in the system of the balance of power. Yet with all this accidental, he had no real, greatness. His character is little known; and what does appear is combined of selfishness, vanity, obstinacy, and incapacity. During the latter years of his life he was much absorbed in the minutiae of court ceremony; a sure symptom of weakness. The collection of forms called etiquette was in the fifteenth century the dawn of politeness and civilisation; in the sixteenth and seventeenth, the sign of absolute power; in the eighteenth, the occupation of mental feebleness and moral imbecility.

Maria Theresa, who succeeded, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction, to all the dominions of the house of Austria, had not completed her twenty-fourth year. Her husband,

1740.
Death of the
emperor,
Charles the
Sixth,
Oct. 20.

Accession
of Maria
Theresa.

1740.

State of the
government.

the Duke of Lorraine, lately become Grand Duke of Tuscany, to whom she had been married more than four years, was not remarkable for talents, and still less for energy of character. The treasury contained only 100,000 florins, which were claimed by the empress dowager; the army did not consist of more than 58,000 effective men, namely, 30,000 in Hungary and the Austrian provinces, 16,000 in Italy, and 12,000 in the low countries. A great scarcity of provisions excited alarming symptoms of discontent in the capital, and the most sinister rumours were circulated. The ministry, who exerted all the little talents they possessed in caballing against one another, were afflicted with the dejection, without any of the energy, of despair. The principal of them was Bartenstein, the son of a professor at Strasburg, who had made his fortune by his skill in drawing memorials, had recommended himself to the late emperor by his subtilty, and had been employed by him as the agent of a secret correspondence with the foreign ambassadors, unknown to the ministers.*

State of
Europe.

The late emperor had employed all his endeavours to obtain a guarantee of the pragmatic sanction from the chief powers of Europe. Spain, Prussia, Russia, England, Holland, and even France, had successively joined in this guarantee; and it was at length sanctioned by the suffrages of the whole Germanic body, with the exception of the Elector Palatine and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the two latter of whom had concluded a league in support of their respective rights and pretensions.

* House of Austria.

But Prince Eugene had fairly told his master, that an army of 180,000 men, with money to maintain them, would be a better security than all his paper guarantees: the event was conformable to this prediction. Charles, indeed, had at first taken the advice of his great captain; but no sooner was the army augmented, than the enemies of Eugene represented to the emperor that the country, oppressed by enormous contributions, was not able to support so large a force, and that it was necessary to discharge the new levies. Charles immediately dismissed the 40,000 men whom he had just raised. It is more easy to blame this reduction than to shew how it might have been prevented. The revenues of the emperor were scanty, and his debts weighed heavily upon his finances, which were involved in the most intricate confusion; nor was it easy for him to increase the taxes. In a free government, the people themselves take a part in the actions of the state; they have, or seem to have, an influence in the resolves of war and peace; they give their money, therefore, for a cause in which their passions are engaged, and they take care, to a certain degree, that it is honestly expended. In an arbitrary government it is the reverse; the people, resigning all interference in the conduct of public affairs, ask, in return, that their property should not be required of them for objects in which they have no interest. The sovereign, therefore, cannot levy large taxes; and his credit, limited by this circumstance, is still further injured by the knowledge, that by a stroke of his pen he can annihilate the most solemn engagement. To increase his

1740.

1740. embarrassments, a great part of what is raised is consumed by the speculation and prodigality of his agents. These truths have become trite, but they are always worth repeating.

When Maria Theresa succeeded, therefore, to the throne of her father, she found a weak government at home, supported by unsure promises from abroad. The situation of Europe was not calculated to increase her security. England, the ancient ally of the house of Austria, was involved in an expensive contest, against the will of Walpole, who would not be likely to add, if he could help it, to the number of the enemies of his country. France, on the other hand, had repaired by economy her shattered finances, and the success of the late war had whetted the appetite of that warlike people. It was true that Fleury loved to govern rather by negotiations, which he could direct, than by armies, which he could not; but there were others who longed to cut open the way to distinction with their swords, and escape amid the smoke of war from the vigilant eye of a parsimonious minister.

Claims on
the Austrian
succession.

The first claim on the Austrian succession was made by the Elector of Bavaria. He affirmed, that Ferdinand the First had, by his will, bequeathed the kingdom of Bohemia and the Austrian provinces to his daughters and their descendants, in failure of the male line. Maria Theresa, on the other hand, asserted that the clause in the will of Ferdinand devised the inheritance to his daughters, only in failure of legitimate heirs; and, with full confidence in the strength of her cause, she submitted the will itself

to the inspection not only of the principal officers of state, but also of the foreign ambassadors. The Elector of Bavaria could not abide this test. He had no will to produce; he could only state what he believed to be the *substance* of it, and even this substance did not confirm his pretensions.* But had his title under the will been better than it was, there seems no reason why Charles the Sixth, with the consent of all the great powers of Europe, should not have made a new disposition of the Austrian inheritance. 1740.

Other claimants soon started up. Philip the Fifth laid before the German diet a laboured deduction of his rights to the Austrian territories, extending his claims even to Hungary and Bohemia. A troop of monarchs prepared, in like manner, to assert their pretensions: their cupidity was their claim, and their power their argument. The King of Sardinia had learnt from his predecessor, that the Milanese was to be eaten like an artichoke, a leaf at a time, and he thought the present a good opportunity of putting the maxim in practice. The King of Poland was too faithless to be trusted, and, under professions of the warmest affection, concealed projects of rapacity and conquest.

In this state of expectation, the Queen of Hungary looked with peculiar anxiety to France. Lewis had verbally assured the ambassador of Austria of his sympathy for the queen, and his resolution to maintain all his engagements. But this answer, dictated by Fleury, partook of his artifice and dissimulation. The cardinal sent no public reply to the notification of the queen's accession, and excused his

Conduct of
France.

* Flassan.

1740. delay, by pretending that he had ordered the archives to be searched for the style of address to the Queen of Hungary. Maria Theresa, however, still hoping for a favourable result, declined the proposal of Great Britain and Holland, to form a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon.*

While the horizon was clouding over on every side, the storm burst from an unexpected quarter.

It will be remembered, that, in the beginning of the last chapter, we deferred the notice of the state and forces of Prussia. It is now time to recur to that subject.

Electors of
Branden-
burg.

The territory possessed by the Electors of Brandenburg, although considerable in extent, was in great part composed of uncultivated land, and so little favoured by nature, that their possessor might have envied the sovereigns of Bavaria and Saxony. During the Succession War, however, Brandenburg became of importance, as a barrier against the King of Sweden; and the emperor consented to reward the fidelity of the elector to the cause of the empire, by allowing him to take the title of king. To the elector, who was a man of inordinate vanity, this title was merely a means of indulging his love of pomp and precedence: in one of his descendants it awakened higher thoughts. "Frederic," says his grandson, "was tempted by the outward show of royalty, by the splendour of representation, and by that caprice of self-love, which delights in making others feel their inferiority. What was, in its origin, the work of vanity, was found, in the end, to be a master-piece of policy. The kingly title delivered the house of Branden-

Frederic
the First.

* House of Austria.

burg from that yoke of servitude under which the house of Austria kept all the German princes. It was a bait which Frederic threw out to all his posterity, by which he seemed to say to them, 'I have acquired a title for you, render yourselves worthy of it; I have laid the foundations of your greatness, it is for you to complete the work.'''* 1740.

The son and successor of the first king of Prussia was a prince not wanting in capacity, with much power of application and great habits of order; but wilful, passionate, and tyrannical in the highest degree. In the beginning of his reign he acquired much and deserved credit, by peopling with industrious emigrants, and raising to agricultural prosperity, the desolate province of Prussian Lithuania.† Frederic William.

Yet his notions of political economy and national policy were far from being enlarged. His chief method of enriching himself, was to hoard a treasure acquired by the most oppressive taxation; and his way of making himself respected of all foreign powers, was to maintain a large army, which he cautiously avoided committing to the hazard of a campaign. For the purpose of recruiting this army, he employed the most arbitrary means. When he saw a stout and well-made boy in a village, he ordered a badge to be put upon him, and would not allow the parents to devote him to any other trade than that of a soldier. His peculiar whim, however, was to bring together the tallest regiment in Europe. For this purpose, he gave high pay and great rewards to men from all parts

* Mem. de Brandebourg.

† Correspondance du Roi de Prusse : Lettres à Voltaire.

1740.

who were qualified to stand in the ranks of this picked corps. In the pompous language of Johnson, "to exceed the height of six feet was a certain recommendation to notice; to approach that of seven, a claim to distinction."*

His brutality
towards his
children.

The severity, or rather the brutality, of this prince towards his children was carried to an extreme of which there are few examples. When speaking of his eldest son, he always called him *ce coquin de Fritz*. He treated the young prince so ill, as greatly to injure his health. He would keep his son and his two daughters all day in his room, without permitting them to leave it on any account. When he had a fit of the gout, nothing could exceed his passion and violence. One day, at dinner, he asked his younger daughter, who was his favourite, what she would do when she was married. The princess, accustomed to speak her mind, replied, "I will have a good dinner well served, better than yours; and if I have children, I will not maltreat them as you do, and will not force them to eat what they have an antipathy to." "What do you mean by that?" said the king; "what is wanting at my table?" "What is wanting is, enough to eat, and that the little there is, consists of coarse vegetables, which we cannot bear." The king could no longer restrain his rage; but, sparing his favourite, he took up a plate, and threw it at the head of the prince royal, then another at the Princess Wilhelmina: luckily, both avoided the missile. He then burst forth in invectives against his children and their mother, till he was unable to speak; and when they rose

* Johnson's Works, vol. xii. p. 222: Life of the King of Prussia.

to leave the room, he aimed a blow at his daughter with his crutch, which, had it reached her, might have proved fatal. The princess fell ill immediately after, upon which the king obliged her to drink a large goblet of hock. Her complaint turned out to be the small-pox, which brought her to death's door; but this did not soften the heart of her father, who sent her bad broth, saying "it was good enough for her," and disturbed her sleep by the noise of his drums.

1740.

Nothing could be more opposite, to all appearance, than the dispositions of Frederic William and his eldest son. While the king occupied himself all day in the review of his troops, and in collecting men for the tall regiment, the prince never wore a military uniform except in the presence of his father, dressed in the extreme of the fashion, and was seemingly absorbed by philosophy, poetry, and music. The king grew every day more exasperated at this opposition of character. Finding that the prince passed much of his time in company with a young girl, who played moderately well on the flute, he fancied that his son wished to marry her. The way he took to prevent such an occurrence was most barbarous; he condemned the girl to be publicly flogged through all the streets of Potsdam. When Frederic submitted, though with secret rancour, to this and other outrages to his feelings, the king used to say to him, "If you had the least courage, ill treated as you are, you would make your escape; but you are a coward." The monarch's fits of rage were, indeed, dreadful. Once, when the prince went into his father's room, the king seized hold of him, dragged him to the window, and would have strangled him

The prince
royal.

1741. with the rope of the curtain, had not some one come in at the moment and prevented it.* Frederic, worn out with this ill usage, determined at length to fly, and communicated his intention to two young men of the names of Katt and Keith, his most intimate companions.

Project of
marriage.

For a long time a double marriage had been in contemplation between the Prince of Prussia and the Princess Royal of England, and between Frederic Prince of Wales and the Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia. But the King of England required, as a preliminary, that Frederic William should dismiss Grumkow, his chief minister. This demand occasioned some delay, of which the Austrian minister, Seckendorff, artfully took advantage. Fearing that the projected marriages would create a formidable alliance in the north of Germany, injurious to his master, he skilfully played upon the pride of Frederic William, and asked him if he would degrade himself to be a mere puppet in the hands of the King of England, who was accustomed to call him sometimes his brother the corporal, and at others king of the high roads, and purveyor of sand to the holy Roman empire. Frederic William was so effectually exasperated by these injurious terms, that when Hotham, the English envoy, came to have an audience in his turn, and offered some intercepted letters, the king threw them on the floor, raised his foot in a menacing manner, and burst out of the room. Hotham declared, that if he had staid a moment longer, he should have offered some personal affront to the king. Frederic William repented of this conduct, and even

* Mem. de Bareith.

offered an apology, but Hotham would not accept any. Thus the projected alliance was broken off. 1740.

It is supposed, however, that some correspondence with England was still kept up by the Prince of Prussia; and that, in case of his succeeding in his escape, he would have attempted to conclude the marriage. It is said, likewise, that the correspondence was discovered and revealed to the king by the Frankfort merchant through whom it was carried on.*

However this may be, the prince was not arrested till the very moment of executing his project. His servant, who was in the pay of the court, hearing him get up early, ran to give information, and he was stopt just as he was about to mount his horse. He was placed in rigorous confinement. The king called him a vile deserter, without honour. "I have as much honour as you," replied Frederic; "and I have done no more than you have told me, a hundred times, you would do if you were in my place." The king was so enraged with this answer that he drew his sword, and would have killed the prince had not General Mosel placed himself between them. "Strike *me*, sire," he said; "but spare your son."

The Prince
Royal at-
tempts to
escape.

Frederic William seriously meditated taking away the life of his son. He proposed to bring the prince to trial in a court of justice; but one of his counsellors, believed to be Grumkow, persuaded him to have recourse to a court-martial rather than a civil tribunal. The king was so intent upon vengeance on his children, that

* Thiebault.

1740. when he got hold of a casket containing some papers, he said, "Now I shall have the means of convicting that rascal Fritz and that wretch Wilhelmina, and shall find reason sufficient to cut off their heads."*

A court-martial upon his conduct.

As no one was willing to serve on the court-martial against the prince, the king had the members drawn by lot from the whole army. There were twelve members, two of each rank: only two were for acquittal; the other ten condemned the prince and Katt to be beheaded. Nor would the brutal king have hesitated to execute the sentence had he not been stopt by foreign interference. Seckendorff, the Austrian minister, represented to him that, although the prince was his son, yet that he belonged to the empire, and that the king had no power to take away his life. This intercession made the monarch hesitate, and Grumkow seeing the turn the affair was taking, contributed to preserve the life of the prince.† Seckendorff little imagined that by saving the prince's life he was doing the house of Austria far more injury than he had done it service by preventing his marriage.

For Katt, however, no intercession was successful. To strike the greater terror, the king ordered that he should be executed at Custrin, before the eyes of his son. The day before the execution, the prince was conducted into a room of which the curtains were down; he was made to put on a dark dress, similar to one which had been put on Katt, and the curtains being then drawn aside, he

* Mem. de Bareith, tom. i. p. 269.

† Ibid, tom. i. p. 300.

saw the scaffold raised close to the window, and on a level with it. The officers who had conducted the prince then retired, leaving him violently agitated with the thought that the last day of his existence was arrived. 1740.

Early in the morning, Municho, the president of the council of war, and General Lepel, entered the chamber of Frederic to prepare him for the terrible scene he was about to witness. They held him at the window, and he saw his friend Katt appear on the scaffold. His horror was indescribable. "I conjure you, in the name of God," he said to those around him, "to put off the execution; I will write to the king that I am ready to renounce all my rights to the crown if he will pardon Katt." Municho closed his mouth with a handkerchief. Katt, on the other side, exclaimed, that if he had a thousand lives he would sacrifice them for the prince: he refused to have his eyes bandaged, and raising them to heaven, exclaimed, "My God! I return my soul into your hands!" He had no sooner uttered these words than the executioner performed his office. He fell towards the window where the prince had stood; but Frederic had fainted away before the fatal stroke was given. As soon as he recovered his senses, the first object which struck his sight was the bloody corpse of his friend. He fainted a second time, and only recovered to fall into a dangerous fever. It was with great difficulty he consented to take any medicine, and for a long time his melancholy was profound. Execution of Katt.

The king was persuaded to allow the prince to leave

* Mem. de Bareith, tom. i. p. 300, *et seq.*

1740. his prison, but severe even in his mercy; he ordered him to remain at Custrin, and gave him the appointment of counsellor of war in that town. In this capacity he was obliged to write the reports of the state of the garrison and fortress. The king was so punctual in exacting this duty, that one day receiving three reports of which only one was entirely written by the prince, he sternly said that Fritz must write them wholly with his own hand. Yet, although degraded in rank, the prince was not without society or amusement. A family of the name of Wretch shewed him the greatest attention; and with them he passed many happy hours in the cultivation of literature and music. It has been recorded, to his disgrace, that when he came to the throne he never shewed the least sign of gratitude or favour to this family; neither did he bestow any mark of his bounty upon the relatives of the unfortunate Katt. This, it is said, was the policy of a king unwilling to reward the friends of the hereditary prince: whether policy or no, it was the proof of a bad heart.

Punishment
of the Prince
Royal.

His return
to court.

The marriage of the Princess Wilhelmina to the son of the Margrave of Bareith gave occasion to Grumkow to press for and obtain the release of the prince from all further confinement. He arrived at a court ball, given on occasion of the marriage, in the dress which he had worn at Custrin. His mother and sister were at once astonished and delighted at this unexpected appearance.

Frederic now devoted himself apparently to letters, music, and pleasure. He had a country-house at Rheimsberg, or, as he called it, Remusberg, where he assembled the men most famous for their talents, and the women for

their beauty. He married, indeed, at his father's command, a princess of Brunswick Lunenburg Beveren; but, whether out of anger at the compulsion, or from some other cause, he always refrained from her bed. The princess, neglected and put aside, behaved with propriety, and suffered in silence. 1740.

Among other ways of employing himself, Frederic devoted a certain portion of his time to correspondence with foreign authors: of these the most conspicuous was, naturally, Voltaire. The letters which passed between these two eminent men contain so much gross flattery on both sides, that Voltaire speaks of them with evident shame; yet they, nevertheless, contain some curious indications of character. The prince's praises of Voltaire are so extravagant as to be almost blasphemous: "There can be only one God, and one Voltaire, in nature."* "Do not imagine that I push my scepticism to absurdity. I believe, for instance, that there is only one God, and one Voltaire, in the world; and I believe, moreover, that in the present age God had need of a Voltaire to make him beloved."†

His correspondence with Voltaire.

Next to Frederic's worship of Voltaire is his contempt of the Christian religion. He finds fault with his correspondent for mentioning Jesus Christ as "divine;" although the epithet was tempered by the philosophical addition, "enemy of scribes and priests." "One may be allowed to speak of fables," says the prince, "but only as fables; and I think it is better to observe a profound silence on the Christian fables, canonised by their antiquity and the credulity of absurd and stupid people. It is only at the

* A Voltaire, Aug. 6, 1738.

† Nov. 1738.

1740. theatre that I would permit the appearance of any part of the history of this pretended *saviour*," &c.* Nothing is more observable, however, than his constant profession of an exclusive love of letters, arts, and sciences, combined with a philosophical contempt of glory derived from other sources. "I am not a great man in any way. My application alone may one day render me useful to my country; it is the only glory of which I am ambitious."† "Leisure has given me time to occupy myself with the sciences I love. I try to profit by this idleness, in applying myself to the study of philosophy and history, and in amusing myself with poetry and music. I think this way of life infinitely preferable to the majestic gravity and tyrannical constraint of courts."‡ In reply to a letter of Voltaire, who sketches a project for making him emperor, he says: "No, my dear friend, I do not desire greatness; and unless it seeks me, I shall never seek it."|| After sending to this "dear friend" a poetical epistle on humanity, he writes to him: "It is, in my opinion, the only virtue, and ought to be the characteristic of those whom their rank distinguishes in the world: a sovereign, whether great or little, ought to be regarded as a man whose business it is to remedy human misery; he should be like a physician, to cure, not, indeed, the diseases, but the misfortunes, of his subjects."§ In an essay much praised by Voltaire, he writes: "It is a reproach for a sovereign to lose his own dominions; it is a rapacity deserving of punishment to invade those of others, to which he has no right."¶

* A Voltaire, May 1738.

† Dec. 1736.

‡ Feb. 1737.

|| Sept. 11, 1738.

§ Jan. 1739.

¶ Voltaire to the Prince of Prussia, Aug. 5, 1738.

1740.

These philosophical sentiments, or at least the affectation of them, did not leave him when he stood, as it were, upon the steps of the throne. He expressed to his correspondent, both in prose and verse, his regret and alarm when the last fatal illness of the king gave him the expectation of being "transplanted" to a soil "infected with Machiavelism."

"Far from the senseless pageants of the great,
Far from the dazzling throne,
Far from this fragile state,
My choice had been a humbler fate
Of undisturbed repose, and studious life unknown." *

Again,

"Whether I wear my temples bound
Like Horace, or with jewels crown'd,
You'll see me move with equal pace,
Vex'd with no agitating chase;
Nor seek for happiness and rest
But in the sunshine of my breast." †

"It is the only thing which remains for me; for I foresee, with too much certainty, that it is no longer in my power

* "Loin des folles grandeurs de la cour, de la ville,
De l'éblouissante clarté
Du trône et de la majesté;
Loin de tout cet éclat fragile,
Je leur eus préféré mon studieux asile,
Mon aimable repos, et mon obscurité." *

† "Ceint du laurier d'Horace, ou ceint du diadème,
Toujours d'un pas égal tu me verras marcher,
Sans me tourmenter, ni chercher
Le repos souverain qu'au fond de mon cœur même."

* Feb. 26, 1740.

1740. to go back. I leave my independence with regret; and deploring my happy obscurity, I am forced to appear on the stage of the world.”*

The course of this history will shew how soon he was impregnated with the qualities of a soil “infected with Machiavelism;” and it is singular enough, that he who spoke of deriving all his glory from the pursuits of science and the Muses, would now be nearly forgotten, were it not for the splendour derived from military achievement.

The old king died with reluctance: he treated his physicians as ignorant impostors, and attributed to their unskilfulness the progress of a fatal disease. The celebrated Hoffman being reproached, like the rest, for his want of success, told his majesty that he was willing to give up his situation in the University, and leave the kingdom; but that he could not be driven to any place where the name of Hoffman would not be respected.† The king, like all ill-tempered men, softened upon this spirited answer. He sent for his son, and begged him, among other things, to keep up the tall regiment, and live with his wife. Frederic refused to promise; “and the king died,” says Johnson, “ignorant of the fate of the tall regiment.”

May 31,
Death of
Frederic
William.

Frederic began his reign with great activity, and some of those acts of beneficence which a new sovereign has it always in his power to perform. The modes of tyranny which suited the caprice of an old monarch have probably no charms for the new: the men who were imprisoned or tortured by the late despot are not obnoxious to his successor. Besides, the moment of an accession is a moment

* May 18, 1740.

† Johnson’s Life of the King of Prussia.

of good humour and benignity. Thus, the veriest tyrants who ever reigned, have in the beginning worn the royal mantle with a gloss of popularity. 1740.

The state of Prussia, when its young sovereign mounted the throne, was tempting to an ambitious spirit. The late king's policy had been so pacific, that other sovereigns had grown to have a contempt for his power, which was by no means merited. The emperor and the sovereigns of Russia and England had disposed of the affairs of Poland and Germany without consulting his opinion, or even informing him of their designs. George the Second of England, as we have seen, treated him with the greatest contempt. Even the Bishop of Liege had comforted his rebels; and on his complaint, turned away his envoy from the door for three several days. But while he thus left a name in some degree tarnished, he likewise left to his successor the means of repairing the dishonour. An army of 76,000 men admirably disciplined, a treasury containing 8,700,000 crowns, the finances well administered, and the state entirely free from debt; such was the stock which the second Frederic found in his hands, to venture as he pleased for fame and fortune. State of Prussia.

The young lion soon shewed his claws. When the Bishop of Liege, encouraged by past impunity, opposed a claim to two districts in his possession, 2000 Prussian troops entered his territory, and obliged him to resign the country in dispute.

The death of the emperor opened a wider prospect to the ambition of Frederic. His active genius instantly perceived that the moment was come to make the royal title the sign of real supremacy; that he might render himself a Views of Frederic.

1740. formidable rival to the house of Austria, and share with that proud dynasty the sceptre of Germany.

The known weakness of the court of Vienna, their deranged finances, broken army, and disunited ministry, now left under the guidance of a young princess, whose rights were disputed, and whose inexperience was certain, furnished to a mind like his ample motive for aggression. Let us add to this, that although without engagements, he felt himself sure of support. It was certain that the claimants to the succession of Austria would not allow him to be crushed without making some effort in his support. The minister of France would never be able, he thought, to restrain the ardour of that nation, while other powers were dividing the spoils of Austria; and even should France take the opposite side, he then thought himself certain of the support of England, her rival.

It is but due to the candour of the great Frederic to say, that in his own historical account of these transactions he does not lay any stress upon the claim which he put forward in public, to give a faint colour of justice to his aggression upon Austria. This claim consisted of a pretension to four duchies of Silesia. The right to three of these had been formally renounced by Frederic William; but in the tribunal of nations force can make good the title which weakness had abandoned as invalid.

Means of
war.

Before we commence the history of this contest, it may be well to take a slight view of the means of the opposing parties. The art of war had made great progress during the age of Lewis the Fourteenth, and it is perhaps the art which is most indebted to that ambitious monarch. He

had been able, although at a ruinous expense, to maintain during war 360,000 men, and he always had an immense army in his pay even during peace. Other powers imitated his example; magazines were collected at great cost; and the troops being kept in constant exercise, improvements were made both in their equipment and in general tactics. Instead of a solid body, formed six-deep, and partly armed with pikes, every soldier had a musket and a bayonet, which enabled him to combine the advantages of the ancient gun and pike. The Prince of Anhalt formed the battalions only three-deep, and introduced iron ramrods. The late King of Prussia, by continual exercise and an extreme precision, had attained a regularity in the manœuvres of his troops hitherto unknown. The Prussian soldiers were taught to fire five or six times while other troops fired only once or twice; an advantage which gave them a great superiority, until neighbouring nations had learnt the same quickness. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden introduced into his army the custom of attaching two cannon to each battalion. In the foundery at Berlin, guns were cast sufficiently light to be moved by men with the battalions to which they were attached. In the war of 1672, the French invented pontoons of copper, which were easily transported from place to place, and made the passage of rivers no longer a matter of difficulty. It was in the wars of Lewis the Fourteenth especially, that the art of the attack and defence of fortified places made immense progress. Instead of constructing citadels on high places, the bastions which Vauban raised were upon flat ground, and so covered by the counterscarp and the glacis, that unless

1740.

1740. the batteries of the besieging party were placed close to the wall, it was impossible to effect a breach. Hence the long lines of approach which it was necessary to make during every siege of a strong place. In order still further to increase the difficulty of the besiegers, mines were carried out a hundred and eighty feet from the glacis, and a miner could blow up the same point of defence seven times. On the other hand, the arts of sapping and constructing engines for destroying mines were carried to the greatest perfection. It will be remarked, that the tendency of all these improvements was to make success depend more upon the arts of civilisation, and less upon the force and courage of contending armies. Quickness of fire, precision in manœuvres, large magazines, a well-appointed artillery, a formidable discipline; such were the means upon which a warlike sovereign depended in the middle of the last century. With respect to moral feelings, except that sense of honour which makes every soldier anxious to maintain the reputation of the army to which he belongs, and of the nation before whose eyes he fights, little of the kind seems to have entered into the wars of cabinets which prevailed in the commencement and the middle of the eighteenth century.

It was with an army disciplined, appointed, and equipped, in the best manner the science of the time could suggest, that Frederic proposed to commence a contest with the power which for three centuries had borne the sceptre of Germany.

Let us now turn for a moment to consider the position of the young queen. Notwithstanding the clouds which

Position
of Maria
Theresa.

loured over the house of Austria, there is something in the character of that empire which forbids its friends to despair of its safety. When all that corruption, stupidity, and treachery, can do to ruin a nation, has been put in force by the aristocracy, there is always discovered in the people a solid attachment to their sovereigns, and a stubborn spirit of resistance to a foreign enemy, which defeats all calculation. Maria Theresa had likewise in her favour the opinion generally prevalent in Germany, Holland, and England, that to the welfare of the house of Austria was attached the liberty of Europe. Besides these grounds of hope, however, the Queen of Hungary, like Medea in the ancient tragedy, had her best succour in her own character. When only eighteen years of age, at the time of the treaty of Vienna, she is thus described by the English minister resident at the Austrian court: "She is a princess of the highest spirit; her father's losses are her own. She reasons already; she enters into affairs; she admires his virtues, but condemns his mismanagement; and is of a temper so formed for rule and ambition as to look upon him as little more than her administrator. Notwithstanding this lofty humour by day, she sighs and pines all night for her Duke of Lorraine. If she sleeps, it is only to dream of him; if she wakes, it is but to talk of him to the lady in waiting: so that there is no more probability of her forgetting the very individual government, and the very individual husband which she thinks herself born to, than of her forgiving the authors of her losing either." *

1740.

Her spirit.

* Despatch of Sir Thomas Robinson. House of Austria.

1740. She was majestic in person; and although without, perhaps, positive beauty, her youth, her lofty expression, her courteous demeanour, and her melodious voice, combined with her helpless situation, excited as much enthusiasm in those who surrounded her as the greatest charms could have effected.

Mission to
Berlin.

The King of Prussia could not make his preparations so secretly as to hide his designs entirely from the Austrian ambassador. The court of Vienna refused at first to give credit to the intelligence; they thought proper, however, to send the Marquess Botta, a very subtle and sagacious Italian, to sound the designs of Frederic. Botta, in order to discover what was passing in the mind of the king, complained very much, in his first interview, of the state of the roads in Silesia, rendered almost impassable, he said, by a long continuance of rainy weather. "The worst that can ensue from that," answered the king, indifferently, "is, that travellers will arrive dirty." *

Mission to
Vienna.

When every thing was prepared, and the army in full march, Frederic sent his grand marshal, Count Gotter, to make a demand of the whole province of Silesia from Maria Theresa, while he himself proposed similar terms to Botta. The ambassador appeared surprised. "You will ruin the house of Austria, and yourself at the same time," he exclaimed. He earnestly warned Frederic of the danger he was about to encounter: "Our troops are not so well to look at as yours," he said; "but they have seen the wolf." "You allow that our troops look well,"

* Hist. de mon Temps.

answered Frederic; "you shall find that they can do well." 1740.

The device on the standards of Prussia was *Pro Deo et Patriâ*: Frederic altered it to *Pro Patriâ*, saying, very truly, that he was going to fight for a province, and not for the cause of God. He distributed an address to his guards, in which he spoke highly of the reputation the Austrians had acquired under Eugene, and placed before their eyes the glory of overcoming troops so justly celebrated.

The army being now well advanced, Frederic left Berlin, after a masked ball, on the 21st of December, and entered Silesia on the 23d. His troops were well received by the people; a large portion of whom were Protestants, happy to exchange the bare toleration of the house of Austria for the protection of a prince of the same religious profession as themselves.

Invasion of
Silesia,
Dec. 23.

In the mean time Gotter had arrived at Vienna: he was commissioned, in case the claims of his master were satisfied, to offer the arms of Prussia to defend the queen against all other enemies, and the vote of Brandenburg in favour of the Duke of Lorraine at the approaching election of an emperor. The Duke of Lorraine saw Gotter himself, and told him, that even if the queen were so inclined she had not the power to alienate the smallest portion of her succession. He was proceeding to blame the rashness of Frederic, when Gotter, who was of a rough and overbearing temper, interrupted him by saying, "I have no further business here, and will return forthwith." "Are your troops actually in Silesia?" "They are." "Go, then; return to your master, and tell him, that while he has a man

Behaviour of
Gotter.

1740. in Silesia we will perish rather than enter into any discussion. If he has not entered, and will abstain from entering, we will treat with him at Berlin; he may be gratified without presuming to extort what it is not in our power to grant. For my part, not for the imperial crown, or for the whole world, will I sacrifice one inch of the queen's lawful possessions."*

Capture of
Breslau.

1741.
January 1.

The progress of Frederic in Silesia was for some time uninterrupted. The governor of Glogau allowed himself to be blockaded in that fortress, and the army advanced to the neighbourhood of Breslau, the capital. This town enjoyed privileges which exempted it from the presence of troops; and an attempt of General Braun, the Austrian commander, to procure admission, failed of success. The ditch was frozen over, and Frederic threatened an assault: at this crisis, a shoemaker roused the working classes to call for a surrender, and the persons in authority were obliged to open the gates. Frederic dismissed all the persons who held office under the Austrians; but, in other respects, treated the town well. After this he took Ohlau and Ottmachau, while Marshal Schwerin marched into Upper Silesia, and forced Braun to retire into Moravia. There remained to the Austrians only the fortresses of Brieg and Neiss; the latter of which was bombarded without effect. The king, without waiting for any further success, returned to Berlin.

This first campaign of the King of Prussia revealed to the world that a sovereign had mounted the throne

* House of Austria, vol. iv. p. 402. Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington.

endowed with sagacity, promptitude, resolution, and political ability. To make these qualities the more dangerous, it was proved, at the same time, that this military king had no regard for justice or generosity: his claims on Silesia were a mere colour for ambition, and the only reason for urging his pretensions at this season was, that the young queen, who had just succeeded to her inheritance, was threatened by most of the powers of Europe, and, as he thought, unable to maintain her rights. Such was the prince who, a few months before, had regretted the necessity of his wearing a crown; who for many years had exalted the charms of philosophical obscurity above all the greatness of rank and dominion; and who had so greatly dreaded the taint of a soil "infected with Machiavelism!"

1741.

Maria Theresa, menaced on all sides, had no ally but her own bold and magnanimous heart. The King of England, indeed, promised the contingent he was bound by treaty to furnish; but he urged the queen to make an immediate accommodation with Frederic, in order to relieve herself from her other difficulties. Such was not the policy of the heiress of the house of Austria. She delivered Marshal Neuperg from the prison in which he had been confined since the peace of Belgrade, and, placing him at the head of an army, ordered him to reconquer Silesia. Neuperg was an old commander; and the inexperience of the King of Prussia gave him some advantages. He assembled his army, and prepared to march into the centre of the enemy's quarters. Frederic, on his side, although he was informed by spies and deserters that the

April.
Campaign
in Silesia.

1741. Austrians were about to invade his conquest, took no further precaution than to draw his troops closer together. Neuperg meditated an attempt to surprise the cannon of the Prussians at Ohlau, and if he had marched there at once, it is almost certain that he would have succeeded: but he acted as if he wished to give a lesson in military tactics to his antagonist; his cavalry appeared before every village to reconnoitre, and thus alarmed the king into vigilance. Notwithstanding these hints, Frederic, unacquainted with actual war, and deceived by the confidence of Marshal Schwerin, had gone to Jægerndoff, whence he was about to march for the siege of Neiss, when he found himself so close to the Austrian army, that, but for the methodical slowness of Neuperg, Jægerndoff might have been attacked and taken in a few hours. Rousing like a lion surprised in his lair, he instantly gave orders for assembling his army, and marched towards Steinau. He found, however, that a bridge over the Neiss at Sorge, by which he intended to pass, was occupied by a detachment of the enemy under General Lentulus, upon which he crossed with the army at Michelau, higher up the river. It was his intention to have marched to Grotkau; but
- April 4. he found that place was occupied by the Austrians, who were pointing their march directly to Ohlau upon his park of artillery. His only resource was to fight a battle. For two days a heavy snow impeded, but at the same time
- April 8. concealed, his march. At length, on a bright, clear morning, the ground covered with snow, he approached Molwitz, the head-quarters of the Austrians. When he arrived within two thousand yards of the place, although no enemy

was in sight, he drew up his army in order of battle; the cavalry on the wings, the infantry in the centre. The cavalry on the right being crowded, three battalions of infantry were taken out of the line, and placed on the flank. Some companies of grenadiers were posted in the centre of the cavalry; a disposition copied from that of Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen.

1741.

Neuperg, on his side, reposed in the village of Molwitz in full security of the success of his plan. His cavalry, either inspired with a contempt of their enemy, or benumbed by the severity of the weather, neglected the usual precautions, and failed to inform him of the approach of the Prussians till they were within sight of his headquarters. His army, thus surprised, had great difficulty in deploying from the village, and forming, while the Prussian artillery galled them with an incessant fire. The cavalry at length declared they could bear it no longer; and Rocmer, their commander, charged the Prussian cavalry, who were at this moment making a quarter-wheel to the right. Overthrowing them with great ease, he reached the artillery and the baggage, where his men began to plunder. The Prussian grenadiers, therefore, were able to rejoin their companions in good order. The beaten cavalry, which had been fired upon by their own infantry in their flight, now rallied, and attempted an attack in their turn; but their commander was killed, and they were entirely routed. Upon this, the victorious Austrian cavalry fell upon the battalions placed to guard the Prussian flank; but were repulsed in three several charges, in one of which General Rocmer was killed. Neuperg then put his infantry in

Battle of
Molwitz,
April 10.

1741. motion, and made a tremendous attack on the Prussian right. The soldiers stood immovable, but they were nearly overpowered by weight of numbers; and after five hours' firing, their powder was so exhausted, that they were obliged to supply themselves from the knapsacks of such of their comrades as had fallen. Many of the Prussian officers gave up the field for lost; the infantry still stood, however, and at length gained a little on their opponents: at this moment Marshal Schwerin put the left wing in motion, and, taking the Austrians in flank, decided the fate of the battle. Neuperg tried in vain to rally his troops; they fled from the field, and never stopt till they had traversed the town of Neiss. The loss of the Austrians is computed by Frederic at 7000 killed, 1,200 prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon: his own at 2,500 killed.

When the victory was thus gained by his troops, Frederic was no longer with them. It is impossible to say at what period in the action he left the field; it is likewise uncertain whether he was overborne in a charge of cavalry, or whether he considered his army as defeated, and, knowing they had no retreat, wished to save his person. He rode towards Oppellen: when he arrived at the place, his valet called out to those inside to open the gate. Those inside happened to be Austrian cavalry, on their march to join the army: they opened the gate suddenly, and sallied forth to make as many prisoners as they could. After some firing, Frederic turned his horse round, and left his companions to shift for themselves; calling out as he rode off, "Good bye, my friends; I am better mounted than any of you." They were chiefly taken prisoners; he escaped alone, and did not

rejoin his army till the next day.* So nearly had his career of victory been stopped in the very beginning. 1741.

The battle of Molwitz is one of those which mark the rise of a new power. It was brought on by blunders on both sides: Frederic was forced to fight, without a retreat, in order to save his cannon; Neuperg allowed the enemy, whom he surprised, to surprise in his turn. The disposition which contributed most to the victory, namely, that of guarding the Prussian flanks, was made as it were by chance. The real gainers of the battle were the Prussian infantry, who proved by this memorable example, that brave men, long and well disciplined, can be as firm in the field as the most celebrated veterans. Austria had found a new enemy, Germany a new chief, France a new ally; and the politicians of Europe, who had censured the rashness of Frederic, began, with almost as little reason, to laud his military talents.

Cardinal Fleury had seen, with great uneasiness, the peace of Europe disturbed, before he could make up his own mind what ought to be done. His pacific inclination and great age rendered him most averse to enter upon the troubles and incur the chances of a general war; but his caution was despised, and his humanity derided, by the favourite courtiers of the king. That a monarch like Lewis the Fourteenth should have governed without contradiction in age the nation he had led to conquest in youth, they thought natural and just; but that, under a young and vigorous prince, the state should be guided solely by the

Court of
France.

* House of Austria.

1741. timidity of an old and, as they thought, superannuated priest, was a mortification they could not bear. Two brothers, of the name of Belleisle, grandsons of Fouquet, led this party in the court. The one of these brothers was always forming brilliant plans; the other was supposed to have more judgment in execution: hence one was called Imagination, and the other, by way of contrast, Common Sense. An ardent disposition, and a thirst of war, were the characteristics of both. Fleury, thus opposed, would have acted the wiser and better part had he resigned the conduct of the impending contest to those who were so anxious to begin it. But men, at any age, are tenacious of power: Fleury temporised at home, waited for the throw of the dice, and in the mean time, as fair words cost nothing, wrote letters of encouragement to the King of Prussia, and of friendship to the Queen of Hungary.*

Conduct of
England.

The conduct of Sir Robert Walpole had an appearance not very dissimilar to that of Fleury. He, likewise, was fond of peace, and was urged to war by a party in parliament and in the country. To the pressing demands of the Queen of Hungary for succour, he replied, after long delay, that England would maintain her engagements if required to do so; but that he advised an immediate peace with the King of Prussia. Two days before the battle of Molwitz, however, George the Second met his parliament, and, in his speech from the throne, called upon them to support the Queen of Hungary, and maintain the liberties of Europe. The Commons, who shared the sympathy of the people in

Speech from
the throne,
April 8.

* Hist. de mon Temps.

favour of Maria Theresa, readily voted a sum of 300,000*l.* to enable the king to fulfil his engagements. Twelve thousand troops, consisting of Danes and Hessians, were prepared as the contingent of the King of Great Britain. Still Walpole urged the Queen of Hungary to conciliate Prussia; but his remonstrances were counteracted by an enemy at home. Lord Carteret told Count Ostein, the Austrian minister in London, that the subsidy did not proceed from the good disposition of the ministry, but was extorted by the general voice of the parliament and people. The Austrian minister accordingly changed his language, and encouraged his court not to agree to the proposals of Prussia.*

1741.
April 14.

The court of France, on the other hand, concluded an offensive alliance with Bavaria, by which she obliged herself to send 40,000 men to join the elector, and an army of equal force to keep in check the Elector of Hanover, and the United Provinces.†

Alliance of
France and
Bavaria,
May 18.

It is worth while, on this occasion, to give the words of the guarantee by which France, in the treaty of Vienna, bound herself to preserve to the daughter of Charles the Sixth the succession to his dominions. It is thus expressed:

“ His most Christian Majesty, in relation to the states already possessed, and to be possessed, by his imperial majesty, in virtue of the sixth article of the preliminaries, takes the engagement to defend the order of succession established in the house of Austria, as it is more amply explained by the pragmatic sanction of the

* Life of Lord Walpole, chap. xxii.

† Flassan.

1741.

19th April, 1713. For it being proved that the public tranquillity cannot long subsist, nor the balance of power be maintained, but by preserving this order of succession, his Most Christian Majesty, for the sake of these objects, *as well as by consideration of the terms of peace, to which his imperial majesty has consented principally for this reason*, has bound himself, in the strongest manner, to defend this order of succession; and that no doubt may arise, promises, for himself, his heirs, and successors, *to defend with all his forces, maintain and guarantee against all persons whatever, wherever it may be necessary, this order of succession*. Therefore, his Most Christian Majesty promises and binds himself to defend him or her who, according to the order before mentioned, shall succeed to the kingdoms, provinces, and states, which his imperial majesty now possesses, and to maintain them there in perpetuity against all who may, in any manner, disturb this possession," &c.*

Nothing could be stronger than these terms. Fleury, indeed, alleged that the words, "saving the rights of a third party," limit the engagements of France. But these words are not to be found in the treaty; and if they were ever used, it must have been in so low a whisper as never to reach the emperor's ears; for it is evident they make the treaty itself needless and null. The case stands thus, therefore: France, in order to obtain the great advantages secured to her by the pragmatic sanction, yields to the emperor's favourite wish, that of transmitting his dominions unspoiled to his daughter. But when he is dead; when this daughter ascends a throne surrounded by enemies on every side, and when France has reaped all the benefits granted

* Flassan, tom. v. p. 98.

to her by the treaty of Vienna, she forfeits her word, and leagues with the most encroaching of those enemies to strip the young queen of her lawful inheritance. No fierce and ardent conqueror surely ever made a more unjust war than this timid cardinal and his voluptuous pupil.

1741.

The project of France, or rather of those who directed her steps on this occasion, was so to clip the wings of the house of Austria as to prevent her from ever again asserting the dominion of Germany. For this purpose, three rival powers, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, were to be enriched with her spoils, and raised to an equality with herself.

Projects of
France.

The Count of Belleisle, who had been sent to assist at the choice of the Elector of Bavaria as head of the empire, proceeded to the head-quarters of Frederic, and opened to that monarch the vast plans which fermented in his head. The dominions of the house of Austria were parcelled out to the different claimants: Bohemia and Upper Austria to the Elector of Bavaria; Upper Silesia to the King of Poland; Lower Silesia to the King of Prussia; Austrian Lombardy to Spain; and a territorial compensation to the King of Sardinia. Belleisle was so occupied with these plans, that Frederic asking him one day if he had received any bad news to make him look so thoughtful, he replied, "I am thinking, sire, what we shall do with Moravia." Frederic proposed to give it to the King of Poland; at which Belleisle, expecting probably that the King of Prussia would have asked for it himself, seemed greatly relieved and delighted. The plan of a treaty between France and Prussia was drawn up, by which the

1741. partition of the Austrian dominions, and a guarantee of Silesia to Frederic, were settled; but although the terms were agreed upon, the signature was delayed.*

Conferences
at Molwitz,
June.

At the camp of Molwitz, likewise, arrived ambassadors from England and from Hanover, entrusted with different commissions, and more jealous of each other than of the French plenipotentiary. George the Second, finding that Frederic would not lower his demand of the whole of Silesia, and that Maria Theresa would not offer any thing, commanded Lord Hyndford to propose to the King of Prussia the cession of the duchy of Glogau, and two others. Frederic said these duchies were, in fact, but one, and that he could not take less than four duchies contiguous to his dominions. Lord Hyndford implored him to shew his magnanimity, and give peace to Europe. "Don't talk to me of magnanimity, my lord," replied Frederic; "a prince ought first to consult his own interests. I am not averse to peace; but I expect four duchies, and I will have them."† Thus ended the negotiation; and Maria Theresa, when she heard of its failure, openly expressed her joy.

Treaty be-
tween France
and Prussia,
June 5.

The ministry of England, seeing their mediation attended with such little hopes of success, and willing to be prepared for war, used all their efforts at the court of St. Petersburg to induce the regent to support the Queen of Hungary. Frederic hearing of these exhortations, abruptly concluded that Walpole was insincere in his desires of peace, and signed his treaty with France. The news of the signature was speedily carried from Molwitz to Hanover,

* Hist. de mon Temps.

† House of Austria.

and from Hanover to Vienna. As a last effort for peace, 1741.
Mr. Robinson, the English minister at Vienna, was ordered to repair to the head-quarters of Frederic, with the best terms he could carry. The spirit of the queen, however, was unbent: she refused to offer any thing more than Austrian Guelderland and Limburg, with a sum of money, and, at the last extremity, the duchy of Glogau. When Mr. Robinson expressed his fears that these terms would be rejected by the king, Maria Theresa answered, "I wish he may reject them."*

Frederic, in his conversation with Mr. Robinson, as-
sumed a rough and blustering manner. When the cession of Guelderland was proposed, he turned to his minister, to ask what he had left in Guelderland; and upon his answer, said, "Still beggarly offers! What! nothing but a paltry town for all my just pretensions in Silesia?" Upon the offer of Limburg, he continued: "Neither the French nor the Dutch have offended me, nor will I offend them by such *unlawful* acquisitions. Besides, who will guarantee them?" Mr. Robinson answered, "England, Russia, Saxony, and even the States-General." "Guarantees!" cried the king, taking another tone; "who observes guarantees in these times? Has not France guaranteed the pragmatic sanction? Has not England guaranteed it? Why do you not all fly to her succour?"†

Conference
at Molwitz.

Mr. Robinson, who was somewhat pompous in his manner, and an enthusiast in favour of Maria Theresa, spoke with emphasis of the regard due to her. To the unfeeling heart

* House of Austria.

† Ibid.

1741. of Frederic this emphasis appeared laughable. "The king, who had a quick perception of the ridiculous," to copy his own history, "answered in the same tone, 'that princes without honour, indeed, might sell their rights for money; but that he considered these offers more insulting to him than the previous haughtiness of the court of Vienna:' then raising his voice, he added, 'My army would hold me unworthy to command them, if I sacrificed, by a disgraceful treaty, the advantages they have gained by actions of immortal valour. Learn, too, that I could not abandon without the blackest ingratitude my new subjects, all the Protestants of this country, who have invited me by their wishes. Do you ask that I should deliver them as victims to the tyranny of their persecutors, who would sacrifice them to their vengeance? If I were capable of so base, so infamous an action, I should imagine that I saw my ancestors rising out of their tombs, to cry to me, 'No, you are not of our race,'* &c." When he had done this rant, he made his exit behind the inner curtain of his tent, with theatrical passion.

Frederic evidently meant to intimidate, or at least to get quit of, the ambassador, by this apparent rage: the art has since been used to a much greater extent, but with a striking similarity of manner, by a much more famous conqueror.†

* Hist. de mon Tems.

† It is curious that Mr. Coxe, in recounting the scene, should write, "After this burst of real or affected indignation." Frederic expressly informs us, that he made this sally because he had "a strong perception of the ridiculous," — a sufficient motive for "affected," but not for "real indignation."

Soon after this conference took place, every state was in arms. By a treaty signed at Hanover, the parliamentary grant of 300,000*l.* was assured to the Queen of Hungary. The Regent of Russia was preparing to take the same side, when a war with Sweden, excited by the emissaries of France, diverted her attention, and employed her army. On the other hand, the King of Prussia concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, by which Silesia was guaranteed to Prussia; Upper Austria, Tyrol, Brisgau, and Bohemia, to Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria received from Frederic 400,000 crowns for Glatz, which he never had possessed. The court of Saxony was induced, by the bribe of Moravia, to enter into the alliance, and signed a treaty with France. Spain prepared to attack the Austrian possessions in Italy; the King of Sardinia armed for the same purpose; and all Europe seemed about to be involved in hostilities.

1741.
Treaty between Great Britain and Austria,
June 24.

Alliance of France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria.

August 31.

It must be owned, that the war of 1740, justice out of the question, was very naturally prompted by the situation of the parties. It was hardly to be expected that the German princes should omit so favourable an opportunity for enlarging their states at the expense of a dynasty which had overshadowed and depressed them. Still less could it be hoped that France, so long the rival of the house of Austria, should fail to seize the fairest opportunity of reducing its power which had occurred since the days of Cardinal Richelieu. Nor was it possible that England, without equal infamy and loss, should allow the great counterpoise of the balance of Europe to be removed from the scale, without making those efforts to which she was

1741. bound, as well by the letter of treaty as by the spirit of her policy.

Neutrality
of Hanover.

Sept. 16.

Fleury in vain endeavoured to give an appearance of justice to his aggression on the Queen of Hungary. With the casuistry of a priest, he alleged that France was only obliged to observe her guarantee in case all the powers of Germany entered into it, which would have made it unnecessary. The armies of France, however, were not the less formidable on account of the weakness of their cause. One under Marshal Maillebois threatened Hanover, and induced George the Second to propose a neutrality for the electorate. This proposition being accepted, a convention of neutrality was signed by the French minister on the one hand, and the Hanoverian on the other. Lord Harrington, although consenting, very properly refused to put his name to the instrument. Another French army joined the Elector of Bavaria, who, being named by the King of France his lieutenant, took Lintz, and, marching towards Vienna, occupied Passau. He even pushed his cavalry to within a few miles of the capital. The King of Prussia, by a well-written letter, urged him strongly to advance, saying, "the Romans could be conquered nowhere but at Rome." But the elector, who was by nature irresolute, readily followed the advice of the last person who offered it. Fleury dreaded lest, by too brilliant success, one great German power should be succeeded by another; and his agents were at hand to insinuate to the elector, that if he did not hasten his march, the Saxons would possess themselves of Bohemia before he could arrive. Thus influenced by his own jealousies and those of his

ally, he changed his direction, and marched towards Bohemia.* To this weak resolve the house of Austria owed its safety. The elector spoke, indeed, of the strength of the garrison of Vienna, and the advanced season of the year; but these difficulties would not have been insuperable to an able and vigorous commander.

1741.

The Elector
of Bavaria
marches to
Prague.

At the period of which we are speaking, France and England were equally deficient in statesmen and generals of commanding talents for the conduct of a war. If the defence was feeble, the attack was languid. Fleury and Walpole came to the combat like wild beasts which have been so long kept in a cage, that all the shouts and excitements of the spectators can with difficulty induce them to exert their powers of offence.

The people of England were more eager in the cause than the minister. It is said that a subscription, commenced by the Duchess of Marlborough, soon amounted to 100,000*l.* which was offered to the Queen of Hungary, and by her rejected. But Dr. Johnson affirms that the design was set on foot by news-writers; and that the sum raised was inconsiderable.† Certain it is, however, that the situation of the Queen of Hungary revived the national feeling of animosity to France.

Maria Theresa still persisted in relying solely upon arms. Attacked by France, Spain, Prussia, Saxony, Poland, and Bavaria, she refused to buy peace by the smallest concession of territory. Her conduct was grounded on two motives:—the first was a sentiment of duty or of pride,

Sentiments
of Maria
Theresa.

* Hist. de mon Temps.

† Life of the King of Prussia.

1741. that it was not lawful for her to divide the succession, which it was the object of the pragmatic sanction to keep united; she considered herself entrusted with an entailed dominion, which she was bound to transmit entire to her descendants. The other motive was one of policy: "If I yield one province to the King of Prussia," she argued, "I shall encourage other enemies to ask another; and if I am to be despoiled, it little matters whether it be by Bavaria or Brandenburg." *

This resolution of Maria Theresa has been lightly called infatuation: it is far from being clear, that the reasoning she derived from her high spirit was not better than that which Walpole drew from long experience and an habitual love of peace. If her first efforts had not been marked by unusual vigour, it is very possible that a partition of the Austrian dominions would have become inevitable, from the very despondency which a yielding policy always engenders.

If Maria Theresa in this point was, perhaps, in the right, it is certain that she was so in another against the opinions of gray-headed statesmen. The nobles and people of Hungary had been alienated by the late emperors, who violated their privileges, and had endeavoured to force their consent to the pragmatic sanction. The Vienna ministers, with the usual official caution, advised the queen not to trust herself in the hands of discontented subjects. But she more justly argued, that the same spirit which led the Hungarians to resist the commands of a

* House of Austria.

despot, would enlist them in the defence of a friendless woman, who threw herself on their protection. In the month of June she was crowned at Presburg, amid the acclamations of an admiring people. She took an oath to observe the privileges and liberties of the Hungarian people, omitting only that part of the oath of Andrew which acknowledged in the subject a right of resistance in case of its violation.* Three months afterwards, she met in the same place the assembled diet. She appeared in deep mourning, the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and a scymitar at her side. When she traversed the hall in which the diet was held, and ascended the tribune, every eye was turned towards her with respect and admiration. The charms of youth, beauty, and grace, were heightened by the unusual circumstances which accompanied them: a sovereign addressing the assembled states; the heiress of a long line of monarchs asking for protection against hosts of enemies, who sought to destroy her ancient house, and divide her lawful possessions.

1741.

Her coronation at Presburg.

The diet, Sept. 20.

After a short silence, and an explanation, from the chancellor, of the cause of meeting, Maria Theresa addressed the deputies in Latin. "The afflicted state of our affairs moves us to inform our faithful subjects of Hungary of the invasion of Austria, and the peril of this kingdom. It will be for you to consider of the remedy. This kingdom, our person, our children, are at stake. Abandoned by all, we have no resource but the fidelity of the

* Voltaire has fallen into an error on this subject. See House of Austria.

1741. states of Hungary and the ancient valour of the Hungarian people. We exhort the states and orders to consult on the imminent danger of our person, our children, our crown and kingdom, and to give instant effect to their resolves. For our parts, every order and class in the kingdom may be assured, that the pristine happiness of the country, and glory of the Hungarian name, shall be the object of our dearest care and affection."

When the last words of this speech were pronounced, the deputies, with spontaneous accord, drew their sabres half out of the scabbard, and dashing them back to the hilt, exclaimed, "We devote our lives and arms, we will die for our king, Maria Theresa!" *Moriamur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ*. The queen, who had hitherto been grave and sad, burst into tears of joy and gratitude. The states instantly repaired to their deliberations, and voted, without a dissentient voice, large supplies of money and troops.

On another occasion, when the Duke of Lorraine appeared to take the oath as co-regent, Maria Theresa appeared with her infant in her arms; and the cry, *Moriamur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ*, was again repeated with enthusiasm.

Levies of
troops.

The ardour of the Hungarians did not waste itself in words. Besides other and customary aid, large bodies of irregular cavalry, known by the name of Croats, Pandours, and Tolpaches, speedily assembled, and hastened to the seat of war. As their manners were savage, and their efforts animated by a degree of passion very unusual in modern armies, so their mode of warfare was little restricted by

established rules: accordingly, the troops who came to despoil Maria Theresa of her inheritance, and disturb the peace of a happy country, complained bitterly that its defenders did not observe the usages of military courtesy. The Croats, in short, were apt to practise, on a small scale, those acts of robbery and destruction which the kings of France and Prussia practised on a large one.

1741.

The Queen of Hungary, however, did not rest satisfied with rousing the zeal of irregular troops. Every effort was used to collect a regular army; and the defence of Vienna was entrusted to Khevenhuller, the most able of the Austrian commanders.

While Maria Theresa was employing the advantages which belonged to her situation as a single defensive power, animated by just and ennobling passions, her adversaries began to incur the disadvantages which appertain to a coalition moved solely by self-interest. The King of Prussia was not slow to discover that the views of France were intended not for his benefit, but for her own. He reflected, that if the chief dominion of Germany were divided between four equal powers, their jealousies and divisions would enable France to exercise a supremacy, not only over them, but over the whole continent. He saw very plainly that if the war continued, his own military strength would become subordinate, if not tributary, to the superior means and resources of the French monarchy. He therefore wished for an opportunity to withdraw from the contest. Happily, Maria Theresa, thinking she had done sufficient to rise above the imputation of fear, was now willing to listen to the advice of the English am-

1741. February. bassador. A new ministry governed the councils of England. Walpole, after a long exercise of power, was driven from his post by the more furious partisans of war, a popular cry, and a combination of private interests. Lord Carteret, who succeeded, was anxious to employ the whole force of Germany against France; and for this purpose desired an accommodation between Austria and Prussia. His views coincided with those of Frederic. Full powers were despatched to Lord Hyndford; and in a few days the King of Prussia delivered his ultimatum in the following words: "All Lower Silesia; the river Neiss for the boundary. The town of Neiss, as well as Glatz. Beyond the Oder the ancient limits to continue between the duchies of Brieg and Oppellen. Breslau to remain to us. The affairs of religion *in statu quo*. No dependence on Bohemia; a cession for ever. In return we will proceed no farther. We will besiege Neiss for the sake of appearance. The commandant to surrender and depart. We will go quietly into winter-quarters; and the Austrian army may go where they will. The whole to be concluded in twelve days."

Convention
of Ober-
Schnellen-
dorf,
October 9.

These terms, with the exception of the cession of Glatz, were agreed to by Austria, in a convention made at Ober-Schnellendorf, to which Frederic gave a verbal assent. The King of Prussia thus abandoned his allies, and left the French army in Bohemia, to be attacked by the troops lately opposed to him. By a double artifice, he at the same time exacted from the Austrians that the convention should be kept secret, knowing, as he boasts in the History of his own Times, that this condition would not be kept,

and he should thus be at liberty to renew the war when he pleased. At the period of which we are treating, the art of diplomacy was in its full vigour: France, Austria, and Prussia, contended which should overreach the other, at the expense of truth, justice, and honour. 1741.

Maria Theresa was now at liberty to turn her arms against the French army in Bohemia. It has been mentioned, that the Elector of Bavaria marched into that kingdom, impelled rather by political jealousy than military reason. Count Saxe, who was in the French service, urged him in vain to confine his line of operations to the Danube, and not expose his army, without support, in a country surrounded by defiles. In spite of this advice, the elector marched to the siege of Prague, where he was soon placed in a difficult situation. The city was fortified and provided with numerous cannon; his troops were ill-supplied with provisions; their communication with the army in Bavaria was cut off; the month of November drawing to a close; and the Duke of Lorraine with 60,000 men advancing to the relief of the place. One circumstance only favoured the allied army; the city of Prague is of great extent, and the garrison consisted of only 3000 men. By the advice of Count Saxe, two false attacks were made; Ogilvie, the governor, was deceived, and not having strength sufficient to defend all points, he left the new town weakly defended. After a long circuit, the French destined for the attack, under the command of a colonel of the name of Chevert, approached the wall. Chevert, addressing himself to a grenadier, said, "Do you

Siege of
Prague.

Nov. 21.

1741. see that sentinel before us? go up to him; he will challenge you; answer nothing, but go on; he will fire his piece and miss you; kill him, and I will be at hand to support you."* The sentinel was killed, the French pushed on, and the town taken with a loss of only fifty men; an exploit French authors are fond of recounting. The conquerors and the captured met in the streets without bloodshed and without rapine. The Duke of Lorraine, who was only five leagues from Prague at the time, retreated from the allied army to Budweis. Here he divided his troops into three divisions; taking the command of one of them himself, he gave the second to Khevenhuller, and the third to Prince Lobkowitz: of these chiefs, Khevenhuller was the most active and enterprising. The elector had left more than 20,000 men in different parts, to keep up his communication with Bavaria. Khevenhuller attacked these posts separately, with the most complete success.† Nothing more of importance took place during this campaign. Marshal Belleisle, who had not been present at the siege of Prague, requested to be relieved from the command of the army, on the ground of health; and Marshal Broglie, who had suffered two attacks of apoplexy, was sent to replace him.

1742.
Election of
the Emperor
Charles the
Seventh,
Feb. 12.

The diet of the empire, divided into two parties, had wasted much time in disputes. At the suggestion of the King of Prussia, they at length fixed a day for the election of an emperor; and no opposition being made by the King

* Mémoires de Richelieu.

† Tindal.

of England or the Queen of Hungary, the Elector of Bavaria was raised, by a majority of suffrages, to the imperial throne. He took the title of Charles the Seventh. 1742.

While these events happened in Germany, Russia had been the seat of more than one revolution. The Empress Anne, whom we have seen raised to a despotic throne, shared her favour between Biren her lover, and Munich the defender of the state. At her death, she had named for her successor Ivan, a child in the cradle, the son of Anne, princess of Mecklenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick. By an imprudent and scandalous choice, Biren was named regent; and, in the name of an infant, was for a short time sovereign of Russia. The Duchess of Brunswick, who was excluded, and Munich, who was disgraced, united in a conspiracy against this odious and insolent dominion. On the night destined for the execution of their plan, Munich supped with the regent, who asked him, in conversation, whether he had ever undertaken a night attack. Munich replied that he had not; but that he did not usually let slip a favourable opportunity. Three hours afterwards, he entered the palace at the head of the guards, surprised Biren asleep, made him his prisoner, and changed the government. The regency was given to the mother of the emperor; and Biren was sent to Siberia, to occupy a prison, of which Munich himself drew the plan. 1740. Revolutions of Russia. October 27.

The new government pursued with vigour the war against Sweden. A Russian army, under General Lacey, cut to pieces a body of 12,000 Swedes at Willmanstrand. The French, in order to save their ally, projected the overthrow of the Regent of Russia and her son. Marshal Belleisle 1741. September.

1741. one day asked the King of Prussia, if he should be offended at a revolution in Russia, which should dethrone Ivan, the son of his cousin. Frederic replied, that among sovereigns he counted none for his relations but those who were his friends. A surgeon of the name of L'Estocq, a Hanoverian by birth, but a Frenchman by origin, was, in concert with the French embassy, the chief planner of the enterprise. The person for whom the throne was designed, was Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great. It is said, that, upon her shewing some irresolution, L'Estocq drew upon a card the princess with her head shaved, and himself upon the wheel; and on the other side of the card, the princess on a throne, and himself on the steps of it, decorated with a riband: he added, "To-night the one, or to-morrow the other." The enterprise was, indeed, one of extreme danger. Munich gave warning of it to the Duchess Anne; but he had fallen out of her favour, and his advice was thought officious.

Dec. 6. The conspiracy, though formed by a foreign embassy, had its support from the native Russians. The Muscovite nobility saw with pain the ascendancy of a German general, and the Duchess Anne had increased this feeling by her too evident partiality for the handsome Count Lynar, the envoy of the King of Poland.* In the night of the 6th of December, sixty old soldiers, devoted to the memory of Peter the Great, conducted his daughter to the palace, and made themselves masters of it without opposition. They waited but a signal from the princess to plunge a sword

* Hist. de mon Temps, p. 92.

into the breast of the infant emperor; but Elizabeth was touched by pity upon seeing the child stretch out its hand to her, and repeat the hurra of the soldiers. She took it in her arms, saying, "Poor innocent! you do not suspect that it is against yourself you are raising this cry. No, I will not take the life of a child." The Duke and Duchess of Brunswick were arrested. Munich was confined in the same fortress in Siberia of which he had traced the plan for Biren, his rival. Elizabeth, who became sole mistress of the Russian empire, was no better observer of the laws of chastity than her predecessor. Anne had yielded to a sentimental passion; Elizabeth indulged in shameless sensuality.

1741.

Elizabeth
Empress.

In the beginning of the year 1742, the full effects of the vigour shewn by Maria Theresa began to be perceived. Khevenhuller, whom we left attacking the separate posts of the enemy, made, at the end of the year 1741, an irruption into Bavaria, preceded by clouds of Croats and Pandours. A partisan of the name of Mentzel, a Hungarian by birth, spread terror wherever he went, and revenged on the Bavarians, by every species of cruelty, the injuries of his queen. It is natural to pity the unfortunate peasants who are the victims of such retaliation; but perhaps, in strict justice, those who furnish the men and money for an invading army are hardly entitled to plead, when they are attacked in their turn, that they took no part in the aggression of their masters.

1741-2.
Campaign in
Bavaria.

The progress of Khevenhuller was but feebly opposed by Count Segur, who commanded a body of 15,000 men, left

1741.
December.

1741. to guard Bavaria. He retreated, assembled his troops, and allowed himself to be blockaded in Lintz.

Frederic resumes hostilities.

Frederic was alarmed at the intelligence of this rapid progress. He had employed the time of the truce in augmenting his army: it now consisted of 106 battalions and 191 squadrons, 60 of which were hussars. The Queen of Hungary, as he had foreseen, had divulged the truce; and thus afforded him a pretext for renewing hostilities. He proposed a plan of attack to Marshal Broglie, who refused to assent to it. He then meditated an irruption into Moravia, and a march upon Iglau and Horn, which would oblige the Austrians either to leave Segur at liberty, or to send to Bavaria their main army, and thus enable Broglie to march upon Lintz. In order to execute this plan, it was necessary to have the co-operation of the Saxons. Frederic went himself to Dresden, to solicit the King of Poland. The court of Augustus was at this time directed by the famous Count Bruhl. Early in his career, the favour of Bruhl had been eclipsed by that of Sulkowsky, the special friend of the sovereign. Augustus and Sulkowsky framed a plan, during the lifetime of Charles the Sixth, for a partition of his dominions among the different powers. Prince Lichtenstein, an Austrian, hearing of this plan, offered Bruhl, that if he would procure a copy of it, the court of Vienna would cause the ruin of his rival, and procure the place for him. Bruhl betrayed his master, and was rewarded with power, riches, and confidence. Maria Theresa, who knew the story, now sent as her envoy to Dresden a Mademoiselle Kling. This lady went to Bruhl;

and taking the project of partition from her pocket, said, 1742.
“Do you know this paper? Promise me instantly that the Saxons shall retire from Bohemia, or I will reveal your treachery, and ruin you.” Bruhl trembled and promised.*

The fears of Bruhl, and the apathy of the king, were formidable obstacles to Frederic. In a personal interview, he displayed before them on the map his plan for the conquest of Moravia. The king was soon weary; and when his minister informed him that the opera was ready, gladly escaped from the conference. Frederic felt a hearty contempt for a monarch who preferred hearing an opera to acquiring a province: but, for the benefit of mankind, a sovereign had better indulge a love of music than a love of conquest.

The expedition of Frederic into Moravia did not succeed according to his wishes. The Saxons fought, but with bad will, and therefore without energy. The Austrians menaced Silesia; and Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the grand duke, kept the Prussians continually on the alert by the activity of his movements. Already, in the month of December, Segur had surrendered Lintz to the Austrians, and was only allowed to march back to France, on condition that neither he nor his troops should serve for a year.† Frederic therefore returned into Bohemia; and seeing no advantage to himself in continuing the war, began to think seriously of peace. Suspicions of the cabinet of France, and a total want of reliance upon their armies, caused or improved these dispositions. But the Queen of Hungary was

* Hist. de mon Temps. † Tindal.

1742. obstinate, and Frederic thought a battle necessary, in order to make her come to a determination. He fought at
 Battle of Chotusitz. Chotusitz, or Czaslau, and won a dear-bought victory. The loss of the Austrians was 7000 men, but his own scarcely less: the enemy retired in good order, and neither party was anxious to renew the conflict.

A story is related by Dr. Johnson, and the continuator of Tindal, relative to this battle, I know not on what authority. They say that an Austrian officer, mortally wounded, being visited by Frederic, was prevailed on by this act of humanity to inform him that he was betrayed by his allies. Frederic requiring some proof of this allegation, the officer, by the king's permission, sent a messenger to Vienna, who brought back an order sent by the French court to Broglie, forbidding him to mix his troops with the Prussians, directing him to keep always at a distance from the Prussian army, to hazard nothing, and, if called upon for aid, to pretend want of reinforcements.*

June.
 Peace of
 Breslau.

Whatever may be the grounds of this improbable story, peace between Austria and Prussia was soon after signed at Breslau. Maria Theresa yielded the whole of Upper and Lower Silesia, and of the principality of Glatz, with the exception of the towns of Troppau and Jägerndoff, and the high mountains beyond the Oppa. Frederic had now acquired the territory he desired; and he congratulates himself, in his Memoirs, on having effected his conquest at no greater cost than 8,000,000 of crowns, the treasure accumulated by his father. As for the bloodshed and ruin

* Johnson's Life of the King of Prussia: Tindal.

caused by his invasion, it is beneath the magnanimity of a conqueror to take any account of them. 1742.

The separate peace of Prussia caused great embarrassment to France. The force sent to conquer and divide the Austrian dominions remained shut up at Prague, and was about to be besieged by a numerous army. This army soon arrived; and a vigorous sally of the French, which caused a loss of 3000 men to the Austrians, did not prevent them from strictly blockading the town. Cardinal Fleury July 11. might have followed with advantage the example of Frederic; a vigorous march and a battle would probably have inclined the Queen of Hungary to peace. But, as usual, he thought it better to negotiate; and, with singular imprudence, he wrote a letter to the Austrian general Koenigsegg, in which he told him the secret of the French cabinet. Weakness of Fleury. "Many persons," he said, "know how much I have opposed the steps that have been taken, and that I have been, in a manner, forced to consent to them. Your excellency is too well informed of all that passes, not to guess who it is that did all in his power to induce the king to enter into a league so contrary to my inclinations and my principles." The person hinted at was Marshal Belleisle. The Austrians published the letter; on which the cardinal wrote again to the general, "that he would not any more let him know his thoughts." The Austrians published this letter likewise: Fleury disavowed them both, and thus completed the proof that he had entered upon his dotage.* What made the occurrence still more unpleasant, was, that

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

1742. a letter to the ministers of France in foreign courts, dated only the day before the letter to Kœnigsegg, had been published; in which, after alluding to the report of his negotiating privately with Vienna, he says, "All the world knows, indeed, that I love peace, and this I never concealed; but it is false that I ever made any propositions for one, directly or indirectly. If, after this, any body can doubt it, the court of Vienna may easily give me the lie."* They did so.

Belleisle, on his side, was not better treated. Upon his attempting a separate negotiation, on the condition of evacuating Prague, Maria Theresa said, "I am astonished that he who excited all the powers of Germany to destroy me, should now offer propositions. I have acted with too much condescension to the court of France; I debased my royal dignity by writing to the cardinal in terms which would have softened rocks; he rejected my entreaties with insult. I can prove, by documents in my possession, that the French attempted to excite sedition in the very heart of my dominions, and that they endeavoured to carry the flames of war to every corner of Germany. I shall transmit these proofs to posterity, as a warning to the empire in all times to come."†

Thus obliged to prosecute unwillingly the war they had commenced perfidiously, the French government ordered Maillebois to leave the Low Countries, and advance to the relief of Prague. Being joined by the Bavarians and Count Saxe, this army soon amounted to 60,000 men:

* Tindal. † House of Austria.

the French, who make a jest of every thing, called it the army of *Mathurins*, an order of friars devoted to the deliverance of captives. Fleury, however, by his weakness, prevented the execution of the design. Upon some vague overtures of the Duke of Lorraine, he sent orders to Maillebois to slacken his march. Maria Theresa disavowed her husband, and Maillebois again set forward. But Prince Charles had by this time collected an army to oppose him; and Maillebois had orders from the cardinal not to fight. Thus the opportunity was lost; and the Mathurins retired, leaving the captives of Prague to their fate, and took up their winter-quarters between the Iser, the Inn, and the Danube. Here they were joined by Marshal Broglie, who had escaped from Prague in disguise. 1742.

The situation of the French army at Prague now became nearly desperate. Before the march of Maillebois, they had been so greatly distressed for provisions, as to be forced to eat their horses; but the march of that general had enabled them to leave the place for a short time and replenish their magazines. An order, however, came to Belleisle to evacuate the town. The ministers who gave the order had never travelled farther than from Versailles to Paris, nor seen an army except at a review; and little did they know the difficulties attending the execution of their commands. To the south of Prague is a plain which extends for thirty miles, succeeded by high mountains occupying the country as far as Egra. Belleisle, however, left the place with 14,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon, the soldiers carrying provisions

Situation of
the French
at Prague.

Dec. 16.

1742. for twelve days. Avoiding all the usual roads, he escaped the encounter of the enemy, and brought his troops to Egra on the twelfth day. But hundreds had perished on the road, from the severity of the weather; many more had their limbs frozen; and the loss of this small army was estimated at 4000 men. Nevertheless, Belleisle was compared by his admirers to the great generals who conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand. More sober observers remarked, that his difficulties had not been of the same extent or duration; and that, although he brought in his cannon and colours, he had not been successful in saving the lives of his men.

Events at
sea.

Nov. 1741.

While these things were transacting in Germany, the Spanish court had made great preparations for disputing with Austria her dominions in Italy. A fleet of transports of 200 sail, with 15,000 men on board, sailed from Barcelona, and a fleet of thirteen sail of the line, with four frigates, from Cadiz. When these men-of-war passed Gibraltar, Admiral Haddock was there repairing his fleet: on the 2d of December he bore down upon the Spaniards in order of battle; but a French fleet of twelve sail of the line interposed, and its commander informed the English admiral that the Spaniards were under his protection. The French and Spanish fleets were, therefore, allowed to pursue their way to Toulon. The land army of Spain landed at Orbitello, in Italy.

Admiral Haddock soon after resigned the command of the fleet to Rear-Admiral Lestock. The British ministry sent out Vice-Admiral Mathews, with seven sail of the line, to supersede Lestock. Mathews was a brave officer, but

proud, passionate, and had a strong dislike to Lestock, 1742.
who remained under his command. This arrangement
was afterwards the cause of misfortune.

Although the Spaniards had succeeded in sending a large force to Italy, the British ministry had the skill or good fortune to attach the King of Sardinia, the real arbiter of Italy, to their side. Promises and subsidies were not spared for this purpose. With the King of Naples, who was naturally and decidedly hostile, they took a more peremptory method. Captain Martin was sent with four ships, to require from the king a promise in writing that he would withdraw his troops from the army of Spain, and not give any further assistance to the Spaniards; in default of which the squadron were to bombard Naples. The king was terrified into concession, and Martin returned with the written promise, after having been only twenty-four hours in the bay.* A little while before, another English captain had burnt five Spanish gallies at St. Tropes, a French, and therefore neutral, port.†

The English
at Naples.

August.

The year 1743 opened with the death of Cardinal Fleury. As the term of his life approached, he grew more and more unwilling to surrender his power: his flatterers inserted fictitious lists in the newspapers of persons who had retained their faculties to the age of 100; and the feeble old man clung to this frail support. When, however, he found that death would no longer delay his summons, he behaved with his usual serenity. Upon the dauphin's shewing a lively grief at his illness, the king

1743.
Death of
Fleury.

* Tindal.

† Ibid.

1743. wished to remove him from the bed-side. "Let him approach," said the cardinal; "it is good for the dauphin to accustom himself to such a sight." He expired on the
Jan. 29. 29th of January, in the ninetieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his supreme power.

Fleury, although his character bears no resemblance to that of Richelieu or Mazarin, was as much master of France as either of them: he had not their talents, but neither had he their vices. He was ambitious of power, but not greedy of money; his manner of life was simple and unaffected, and at his death he left neither debts nor treasure. Neither did he seek to distinguish his ministry by actions of splendour which might illustrate his own name while they ruined the kingdom; he was a lover of peace and of economy. But his mind was originally narrow, and his education had made it narrower; his early life was that of a priest, and his commerce with the world had been confined to the court. He ruled in the same spirit in which he had obeyed. Jealous of his authority, he carefully endeavoured to exclude from the council all who might have disputed the truth or validity of his opinions. Hence, his conduct of foreign affairs was that of a subtle casuist; his direction of the finances, the frugality of a country curate. He pleased at court by the amenity of his conversation; he conciliated learned men by his protection of science and literature; he delighted the king by his attractive manners; and satisfied the people by the mildness of his sway. But those who were anxious for the welfare of the monarchy observed, that, although a lover of peace, he had allowed France to be involved in

two expensive wars; and that, while he was himself free from open vice, his ministry was not fitted to raise the tone of morality, to inspire the love of virtue, or to favour a single generous and noble sentiment. 1743.

The character of the king now began to develop itself. His life had for many years been innocent, but it was the innocence of ignorance, not of principle: the fear which deterred him from shocking the moral feelings of his people likewise prevented him from avowing his purpose when it was unfashionably virtuous. In the school of the cardinal he learnt falsehood, the companion of timidity, and insensibility, which, unless corrected by the infusion of some stirring passion, is the ordinary defect of kings born to the purple. The base courtiers saw their advantage; they plied him with lessons of depravity; and in their society he became as much ashamed of doing right, as he had been a short while before of doing wrong. Character of Lewis the Fifteenth.

During the reign of the cardinal he had already made great progress in debauchery. His first transgressions were for the pleasures of the table; wine and feasting relieved for a time the monotony of his indolent life. Still he was faithful to his duties as a husband; and when one of the artful sycophants about him praised the beauty of any lady whom he had not seen, he would reply, "Is she as handsome as the queen?" This purity, however, could not possibly remain, especially as the greater part of the ladies of rank esteemed it a higher honour to be mistress of the king than wife of the greatest subject. Four sisters of the name of Nesle, of high birth but small fortune, had been protected by the bounty of the queen. The eldest, Intrigues.

1743. Madame de Mailly, placed herself so often in his way, that he became the victim of her seduction. She had neither beauty nor talents, but was humble and disinterested, qualities most convenient for the ministry. Fleury, therefore, connived at his pupil's errors. A sister of Madame de Mailly, whose education at a convent was not yet finished, formed the plan of supplanting her, and gaining the affections of the king. She obtained an invitation from her sister, and although she was neither handsome nor graceful, completely succeeded in her plan. The king married his new mistress to a nephew of the Archbishop of Paris, who gave the nuptial benediction. Madame de Mailly lamented the event, but soon consented to share with her sister the monarch's love. Madame de Ventimille, her husband, her father-in-law, and her sister, formed the select society of Lewis, and were honoured with his gracious favour. A third sister, the Duchess of Lauraguais, is believed to have partaken in the shame and the sin.

The queen wept, but the measure of scandal was not yet completed. Madame de Ventimille died immediately after giving birth to a child. By a singular fatality, the confessor who went to announce the event to Madame de Mailly dropped dead as he reached her door. The king was deeply affected; and the courtiers feared that he would fall into a state of melancholy devotion. The expedient they devised to avert this misfortune was, to present before his eyes a fourth sister, Madame de Tournelle, whose real charms were heightened when she first appeared in his presence by the mourning she wore for her departed sister. Lewis was captivated, and offered

terms; the skilful beauty drew back, and made extravagant demands. When Lewis hesitated to comply, she said she was attached to another person, and was perfectly satisfied with her present condition. Her terms were: 1st, that her sister should quit the palace before she entered it; 2d, that she should be declared, in form, the king's mistress; 3d, that she should be allowed to form her own parties to supper. Lewis was too much in love not to comply. The new favourite was made Duchess of Chateauroux, and had her sister's place in the queen's household: this event had a material influence on the state of Europe.

1743.

It might be thought that the relators of these anecdotes calumniated the ladies of whom they speak, did not they all agree that a fifth sister, Madame de Flavacourt, who, like Madame de Tournelle, had personal beauty, preserved her virtue and her fame unstained in the midst of this scene of profligacy.

As for Madame de Mailly, her course was easy. She betook herself to devotion, and was happy enough to feel what she professed. One day that she was kneeling in church, a man near her addressed her by a term the most gross and insulting that can be used to a woman: she mildly rejoined, "Since you know me, pray for me."

While such was the resource of the fallen favourite, the Duchess of Chateauroux enjoyed the fulness of power. She assumed in great part the direction of the war; and when Fleury died, her influence named the ministry. The Count d'Argenson, second son of the late minister of police, received the war department: he was a man of

Duchess of
Chateauroux.French
ministry.

1743. talents, and had a considerable knowledge of the world.* Orri managed the finances with some skill, and obtained loans at a reasonable interest. The king himself pretended for a short time to conduct the business of the foreign office; but he soon resigned the labour, and it was given to the Marquis d'Argenson, elder brother of the preceding. This d'Argenson had conceived projects for depriving the nobility of their exclusive privileges, and placing all French subjects on an equality. The courtiers revenged themselves by calling him *La Bête*.

Campaign in
Germany.

The campaign of 1743 was begun with the utmost vigour by the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, assisted by the counsels of Khevenhuller, marched against the French army on the Iser; and while they prepared themselves for his approach, he turned towards Branau, and by a sudden attack, routed and made prisoners a body of Bavarians under General Minuzzi. The general himself, with 6000 men, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The prince then advanced against Broglie, who retired to the Rhine. At the same time, Prince Lobkowitz drove Count Saxe from the Upper Palatinate.

Peace with
the emperor.

The emperor, whose rash ambition had been completely quenched by his well-merited misfortunes, now quitted

* It is curious that Frederic, his contemporary, should have confounded, in his memoirs, this d'Argenson with his father, and represented him as "rempli de Cujas et de Bartole." It is excusable in Mr. Coxe to have adopted an error sanctioned by such authority. After describing the ministry, Frederic says, "Cet aréopage gouverna donc la France!" Why an areopagus?

Munich with precipitation, and sued for peace. The terms were sufficiently severe. He renounced all pretensions to the Austrian succession; bound himself to neutrality; gave up his fortresses to the Queen of Hungary, and engaged to abandon his dominions till the conclusion of a general peace. He retired to Frankfort, where he soon afterwards received with gratitude a draft for 40,000 crowns from the commander of the French armies.

1743.

George the Second, being relieved from all apprehensions for Hanover by the march of the army under Maillebois, now resolved, with the advice of Carteret, to take a more decided part in the war. An army of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, had been for some time assembled in the Netherlands, where their inactivity and apparent uselessness made them a theme of reproach to the English ministry. Lord Stair proposed that a bold march should be made into the interior of France. But besides the hazard of this plan, it was urged that England and France had as yet issued no declaration of war against each other. In order to preserve, therefore, the character of an auxiliary, Lord Stair was directed to march upon the Maine, and to form a junction with Prince Charles. Lord Stair arrived on the 23d of May in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, with about 37,000 effective men. He there found that a French army occupied the banks of the Neckar, under Marshal Noailles, who was prepared to oppose his progress into Germany. Lord Stair therefore pushed forward to Aschaffenburg, with a view to gain the Upper Maine. But the defiles above Aschaffenburg were occupied by the French; and presently Marshal

English army
in Germany.

May 23.

1743. Noailles secured the command of the Lower Maine, by throwing a bridge over the river at Seligenstadt. The allies, destitute of supplies, were thus reduced to the necessity of either surrendering prisoners of war, or fighting their way through defiles guarded by cannon and an army superior to their own. In such a state of affairs, George the Second joined his army. Upon deliberation, it was determined to march towards Hanau, on the road to Frankfort, where 12000 Hessians and Hanoverians had arrived, and where the principal magazines of the combined army were placed. The road lay through a narrow plain, enclosed by mountains on the right, and the river Maine on the left. The dispositions of Marshal Noailles were eminently skilful. He placed batteries along the sides of the river, commanding the road by which the allies must pass. He directed a large body of his troops to cross the river at Seligenstadt, and to form behind the rivulet of Dettingen, which flows in a deep ravine, and was passable only by a single bridge. Another body of his troops was ordered to occupy Aschaffenburg as soon as the English quitted it. Thus the King of England was surrounded on all sides; and the end of the campaign, if not of the war, seemed to approach. When all his arrangements had been completed, Marshal Noailles went to examine a ford on the Maine. While thus employed, victory escaped from his hands.

Battle of
Dettingen.

The allied troops marched in columns very close together. When they came within reach of the French batteries, they were much galled by the cannon, and were thrown into some confusion. At this moment, the Duke

of Grammont, commanding the right of the French on the heights, could no longer restrain his impetuosity. At the very instant when the fate of the allies was about to be decided, he descended across the ravine, and attacked the enemy in the small plain through which they were passing. The French batteries were immediately obliged to desist; and the allied troops, collected in a small space, and fighting for safety, after an obstinate conflict, repulsed the assailants. New troops, under Marshal Noailles hastened to the support of their comrades; but were obliged to withdraw across the Maine, with a loss of 5000 men in killed and wounded. The French nobility, in particular, who had been very forward during the action, suffered most severely. The Duke of Rochecouart, the Marquis of Sabran, the Marquis of Fleuri, the Counts d'Estrade and Rostaing, were killed. Twenty-seven officers of the cavalry of the king's household were killed, sixty-six dangerously wounded. A Count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiancourt, a boy of only ten years and a half old, had his leg broken by a cannon ball: he bore amputation without a murmur, and died with unshaken fortitude. Such was the courage of the old nobility of France.

Lord Stair advised an immediate pursuit of the defeated army; but the king, satisfied with his escape from so great a danger, resolved to continue his march; and after dining on the field of battle, proceeded towards Hanau. It was not the least singular incident of this action, that the general of the victors wrote a letter to the general of the vanquished, requesting him to take care of his wounded.

The loss of the battle of Dettingen by the French is

1743. entirely to be attributed to the rashness of the Duke of Grammont, in leaving his post without orders. But it would be a mistake to attribute this disobedience to the accidental fault of a single officer. In the days of Lewis the Fourteenth, such an accident would not have happened. The relaxed discipline of the French army during this reign made them fall into the same errors of rashness and haste which had been fatal to them at Poitiers and Crecy, before the art of war had been made a science. Even after the fault had been committed, no punishment was inflicted on the offender. The French consoled themselves with laughing at the disappointment of Grammont and Harcourt, who had expected to get the staff of marshal,* and with giving to the French guards, who swam the river in disorder, the nickname of *the ducks of the Maine*. If the Duke of Grammont was highly culpable, Marshal Noailles was not without blame. He proved, indeed, that he could plan manœuvres with ability in his tent; but likewise, that he wanted the presence of mind and resource necessary for the day of battle. He ought never to have quitted the post where he could direct every movement of his army; and even after the battle began, he had still great advantages in his hands, of which he failed to avail himself.†

On the part of the allies, no foresight or conduct was shewn. Voltaire meeting Lord Stair some time afterwards at Brussels, asked him what he thought of this battle.

* The battle was called *la journée des bâtons rompus*, — a joke that will not bear translation.

† Tindal. Coxe. Hist. de mon Temps. Voltaire.

“ I think,” he replied, “ that the French committed a great fault, and we two : theirs was, not being able to wait ; and ours were, first, placing ourselves in a situation to be destroyed, and secondly, not profiting by the victory.” The blame of the first of these two faults of the allies was generally given to Lord Stair himself. As for the King of England, his chief praise is, that he was cool and fearless during the action. The King of Prussia indeed affirms, on the authority of an eye-witness, that he stood, during the whole battle, before his Hanoverian battalion, “ the left foot behind, his sword drawn, and his arm extended, nearly in the attitude of a fencing-master.” But this is not a just picture. At the commencement of the action, he put himself at the head of his guards, with his sword drawn ; but when, at one moment, there was some confusion, caused by the defeat of the cavalry, he rode in front of the line, and restored confidence by his presence.* The Duke of Cumberland gave a proof of his courage and humanity. He was wounded in the leg, and a surgeon was about to extract the ball, when the Duke perceived a French mousquetaire, of the name of Girardau, on the ground. “ Begin,” he said, “ with this French officer ; he is more wounded than I am, and I shall be certain of assistance, which he is not.”†

Maria Theresa was transported with joy at the news of this victory. For a short time, her gratitude to the King of England knew no bounds. But with her joy for the successful defence of her own rights and dominions, came dreams of ambition and plans of conquest. Prince Charles

Projects of
conquest.

* Tindal.

† Voltaire. Hist. de mon Temps.

1743. of Lorraine went to Hanau, to lay the scheme of the campaign. It was agreed that the allied army, amounting to 50,000 men, should cross the Rhine at Mentz, and occupy Alsace; while Prince Charles himself was to invade Lorraine, Franche Comté, and Burgundy. Upon this project, the King of Prussia observes with truth, that prosperity in war is often more dangerous than adversity; and that "the greatest general in the world would be the man who, in every change of fortune, should preserve his mind undisturbed, and never separate activity from prudence." * A character rare indeed, but which may be said to belong to Hannibal, Cæsar, Turenne, and Marlborough.

The vast projects in question were entirely fruitless. The allied army, crossing the Rhine, marched to Worms, and advanced till they found the French under Noailles posted in lines, which they did not think proper to attack. After a time, Noailles abandoned the lines, which George the Second destroyed. Prince Charles did not even cross the Rhine. Thus the battle of Dettingen had no other result than affording an escape to the victors.

Treaty of
Worms.

One cause of the inactivity of the allied armies was, the dissensions which broke out between the Queen of Hungary and the King of England. Lord Carteret was most desirous to secure the co-operation of the King of Sardinia, and was not very solicitous how much of the Austrian territory in Italy he sacrificed for this object. His anxiety for this alliance was increased by a knowledge or suspicion that Charles Emmanuel was making his bargain with France and Spain, and that the negotiation was only

* Hist. de mon Temps.

retarded by their reluctance to yield to the extent of his demands. Lord Carteret had no such scruples. Full of a design for uniting together a vast confederacy against France, he meditated compensations to Austria for what she now resigned, from future acquisitions in Alsace and Lorraine. Besides, if France was humbled, it little mattered to the English minister whether Austria, Prussia, or Piedmont, were the greater gainer. 1743.

The feeling of Maria Theresa was very different. She was not willing to exchange the certain for the doubtful. Her first object was to preserve her hereditary dominions unimpaired; and she could not regard any war as successful, if that object were not attained. To the repeated exhortations of George the Second in favour of cessions to Sardinia, she replied, "It is the system of England to lead me from one sacrifice to another. I must expose myself to certain destruction, for no other end than to strip myself of my own accord. Should the cessions to the King of Sardinia be extorted from me, what remains in Italy will not be worth defending: the only alternative left me, is that of being stripped by England or by France."* The King of Prussia, who had seen the battle of Dettingen with displeasure, took care to foment these jealousies: he insinuated to Maria Theresa, that if the emperor was a puppet in the hands of France, she was no less a puppet in the hands of England.† In his immediate object, however, the English minister was successful; a treaty was signed at Sept. 2. Worms between Austria, England, and Sardinia, by which

* House of Austria.

† Hist. de mon Temps.

1743. the queen yielded the city and part of the duchy of Placentia; the Vigevanesco; part of the duchy of Pavia, and of the county of Angiera; and her title, such as it was, to the marquesate of Finale, then in the possession of Genoa. The King of Sardinia was to employ 45,000 men in Italy, on condition of receiving an annual subsidy of 200,000*l.* from Great Britain, and 300,000*l.* for the purpose of redeeming Finale. The sin of this treaty was, that it disposed of Finale without the consent of the republic of Genoa. Maria Theresa alleged, indeed, that the place had only been mortgaged, and that she had a right to receive it back on payment of the sum for which it had been pledged; but, on investigation, it was proved by Genoa that the republic had paid not only for the mortgage, but for the actual purchase. The object of the war was evidently lost sight of; instead of preventing a partition of the dominions of the Queen of Hungary, the treaty of Worms sanctioned, for the sake of conquest, an iniquity of the same kind against Genoa, as France and Prussia had projected against her.

Disposition
of England.

Lord Carteret had not less difficulty in the government at home than with the allies abroad. His overbearing temper and exclusive ambition alienated the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, whose views were more pacific, and whose ambition was not less active than his own; the people supported impatiently the burden of a war which, after Maria Theresa had been saved, seemed no longer to have an object: it was the favourite cry, that England was sacrificed to Hanover; and the king's eagerness for the continuance of hostilities strengthened this

prevailing notion. Nor can it be denied that, although 1743.
wrong in the particular complaint, the people, in the
main, were right. Had it not been for the ambition
of Carteret, a peace might, in all probability, have been
obtained, honourable to the House of Austria, satisfactory
to France, and creditable to England. By making peace,
Great Britain would have had the glory of saving her ally,
and of concluding with victory; by continuing the war,
her burdens were increased, her debt augmented, the
Netherlands exposed, and the throne itself menaced by a
dangerous rebellion. Wise men regretted the prudent and
calumniated Walpole.

The government of France, on the other hand, animated 1744.
by a similar spirit of ambition, made the most extensive Of the court
preparations for the ensuing campaign. Abandoning the of France.
economical warfare of Fleury, they resolved to make the
reign of Lewis the Fifteenth vie in glory with that of his
grandfather. They were seconded in this desire by the
Duchess of Chateauroux, who wished to justify her
ascendancy in the eyes of the nation, by throwing a blaze
of glory around the king and herself. For this purpose,
120,000 men were directed to march towards Flanders,
where the king was to command in person. Marshal
Coigny was placed at the head of another army upon the
Rhine. The Prince of Conti, with 25,000 men, was sent
against the King of Sardinia. A combined Spanish and
French fleet was assembled at Toulon. And lastly, twenty-
five sail of the line were prepared for the purpose of carrying
the Pretender to England, and expelling the House of
Hanover from the throne. War was at length declared.

1744. Campaign in Flanders. These mighty armaments produced no adequate results. The King of France, in person, laid siege to Menin, while Count Saxe, at the head of the second division of the army, covered the siege. The French battering cannon were of the first order, and their engineers of the highest reputation. These advantages depend more upon schools of science and regular magazines, than any other of the means of warfare; and in these the superiority of the French was undisputed. The army of the allies did not amount to more than 60,000 men; a force quite unequal to meet the French in the field. Seven days after the trenches were opened, Menin surrendered. Upon this event, the inglorious king left his army, and retired to Lisle, where his mistress, attended by three princesses of the blood, awaited him. *Te Deum* was sung with solemn pomp; the soldiers of Lewis laughed, and his enemies took comfort. The king returned to the army at the moment when Ypres capitulated; he had afterwards the satisfaction of assisting in like manner at the capture of Furnes and the fort of Knoque. The Duchess of Chateauroux, in the meanwhile, repaired to Dunkirk, where her royal lover went from time to time, to repose from the fatigues of the campaign. Still his progress was uninterrupted; and when the Dutch proposed to treat, Lewis rejected their offers with the pride of his ancestor.

In another quarter, however, France began to feel the disadvantage of a plan of campaign in which every thing was sacrificed to the determination of making the king the strongest on the side where he commanded in person. Prince Charles of Lorraine succeeded in crossing the Rhine,

and pressed Marshal Coigny so closely, that he begged earnestly for succour. 1744.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, it was determined that the king himself should march for Alsace. As it was necessary that where he was present there should be no danger of defeat, only 40,000 men were left under Count Saxe to defend the conquests in Flanders. The rest, under the command of the king, hastened to the assistance of Marshal Coigny.

At Metz, however, a serious misfortune occurred. Lewis, heated by the journey, was attacked by a fever, which alarmed the physicians, the mistress, and the monarch himself. The Duchess of Chateauroux, by the anxiety of her attentions, increased the fears of Lewis: the fever was declared to be of a malignant nature, and the clergy, by their prayers, announced the danger of the sovereign. The Duke of Richelieu endeavoured to prevent any access to the king's bed-chamber; but the Duke of Chartres, son of the Duke of Orleans, burst in, and proclaimed to him aloud his danger both of body and soul. He was struck with terror; Perresseau, a jesuit, and Fitzjames, bishop of Soissons, a prelate of exceeding zeal, were called to receive his confession and prescribe his penance. The sentence was soon made public; the Duchess of Chateauroux, and her sister, the Duchess of Lauraguais, were ordered to resign their places in the queen's household, and instantly leave the court. The mistress, at whose feet two days before all France had worshipped, now saw herself avoided by the courtiers, and assailed with imprecations by the people; even the postmaster refused her a carriage to escape in,

Illness of
the King of
France.

1744. and it was esteemed a singular act of heroic friendship in the Duke of Richelieu to lend her one of his own for the purpose. The queen arrived soon after; and a pathetic scene took place, in which the king asked her pardon for his infidelity.

His recovery. The danger of Lewis, however, was owing more to the ignorance of his physicians than to the virulence of the disease. As soon as the regular practitioners gave him over, a quack offered to cure him, and, being accepted, prescribed an emetic, which had the desired effect. The natural strength of the patient's constitution, which had increased the force of the fever, now favoured his convalescence.

Joy of the Parisians.

The king's illness excited the strongest feeling of anxiety in Paris. Upon the news of his danger, which arrived in the night, many rose from their beds; the streets were filled with inquirers, the churches crowded with suppliants; in several instances the officiating priest, in the midst of his prayers, burst into tears. The courier who brought the intelligence of the happy turn in the disorder was embraced, and nearly stifled by the people; the whole town resounded with the cry of "The king has recovered!" To the king every hope was directed, every virtue was attributed; his march to Alsace was esteemed a noble proof of patriotic ardour; and because he had performed no act of cruelty, the generous and confiding people supposed that he devoted all his thoughts to their welfare. Lewis was himself surprised at this enthusiasm: "What have I done," he naturally asked, "to be so much beloved?" It was on this occasion that the nation gave

him the name of "well-beloved," which afterwards became so cruel a satire. 1744.

Lewis, as he recovered his health, resumed his former inclinations. He received the dauphin, who hastened to see him, with visible coldness. After his return to Paris, he was reconciled, by means of the Duke of Richelieu, to his disgraced mistress; and, anxious to atone for his late piety, he sacrificed to her revenge all who had joined in her dismissal. Such is the temper of a thorough profligate: a coward at the approach of death, and a sensualist when he can enjoy life, he knows of this world nothing but its vices, and of the next nothing but its terrors. Restoration of the mistress.

But we must now return to the campaign, so suddenly checked by the illness of Lewis. It is affirmed, indeed, that on his sick-bed he said to Count d'Argenson, "Write to Marshal Noailles from me, that while Lewis the Thirteenth was carried to the tomb, the Prince of Condé gained a battle." But the parallel in no respect held: Lewis the Fifteenth was not carried to the tomb; neither did Marshal Noailles gain a battle. He allowed Prince Charles to recross the Rhine, with only a trifling loss in his rear-guard. The campaign ended without any decisive blow; Prince Charles marched to Bohemia, while the French formed the siege of Friburg, which did not surrender till the middle of November, after causing a loss of 18,000 men to the besiegers. End of the campaign on the Rhine.

A new face was given to the war by the resumption of hostilities on the part of Prussia. Frederic had information which induced him to believe that the Queen of Hungary was determined to take advantage of her success in the last Conduct of Prussia.

1744. campaign to recover Silesia, and had formed a plan, in conjunction with England and Saxony, for dismembering his dominions. Besides, he had been occupied during the short interval of peace in augmenting his army, and he thought he saw a favourable opportunity of increasing his territories at the expense of his neighbours. He, therefore, signed a new treaty with France, and soon after acceded to a convention made at Frankfort, to which France, the emperor, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, were parties. He seized the moment when the Austrian army was fully employed in Alsace to commence hostilities, and with the rapidity of military genius, advancing at once to Prague, he forced that capital to surrender, making the garrison of 15,000 men prisoners of war. They were commanded by the same Ogilvy who had already once before lost the place. Frederic then reduced Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, making himself master of all Bohemia, to the east of the Moldau. But Maria Theresa, with her usual spirit against invaders, and her peculiar hatred of the King of Prussia, armed to meet the invasion. She repaired again to Presburg: Count Palfy, the palatine of Hungary, set up the great red standard as a signal for what in Hungary is called a general insurrection; 44,000 men instantly took the field, and 30,000 more held themselves in readiness as an army of reserve. But against the immediate attack of Frederic, Maria Theresa produced an army better fitted to encounter the science of the general and the discipline of his troops: it was for this purpose that Prince Charles, leaving the Rhine, led his army into Bohemia. Counselling by General Traun, he took positions so strong, and made

Capture of
Prague.

1744. the king to order a court-martial. This request was complied with; one of the captains was cashiered, and two others were severely treated. The inquiry next proceeded to the conduct of the admirals: to the surprise of the whole nation, Lestock was honourably acquitted, and Mathews judged incapable of serving his majesty for the future. In order to explain, though not to justify, this sentence, it must be said, that Lestock affirmed he had never disobeyed a plain signal; and that Mathews was charged with making the signal to engage before the line of battle was formed, and with engaging irregularly, contrary to the fighting instructions. But these explanations weighed not with the country. It was clear, said they, that Mathews had fought, and Lestock had not; therefore, they concluded, Mathews is a brave man, and Lestock a coward. The truth seems to be, that Mathews was obstinate, and wrong-headed; Lestock able, but ill-disposed; and that they both hated each other more than they loved their country.

State of
England.

In England, a violent spirit of opposition to the ministry gained strength every succeeding session. Lord Carteret was the chief object of this animosity: various motions in both houses of parliament were made, and supported with great talent, for the purpose of driving him from the cabinet. Instead, however, of attacking his general policy, as too warlike and ambitious, the chief opponents of the minister confined themselves to a question more fitted to inflame the multitude than to make an impression on impartial and reasonable men. This was, the expediency of retaining 16,000 Hanoverians in British

pay. It is almost incredible with how much force and how little argument this measure was assailed in parliamentary debate. It was represented as a sacrifice of England to Hanover; as giving to England all the burden, and to Hanover all the profit, of the war. Mr. Pitt, the most formidable utterer of these philippics, called Lord Carteret the Hanover-troop minister; declared that the 16,000 Hanoverians were the only party he had; and asked contemptuously, "Are not other troops to be found in Germany, that great market of men?" Yet it was obvious to men of reflection, that the war was undertaken for the sake, not of Hanover, but of England; that the preservation of the balance of power was not a Hanoverian but an English object; and that if the troops of the electorate were not better than other German troops, they were, at least, no worse, and were more likely to be faithful than any others the king could hire. To oblige him to discharge these troops, at a time when their services were evidently required, was to put a gratuitous affront upon the crown; and the fostering the public clamour on this subject had a no less obvious tendency to weaken the House of Hanover in the eyes of the nation, and serve the purpose of the Jacobites.

1744.

Mr. Pitt, who was the foremost orator on the subject, could hardly have been blind to these considerations. He was a man endowed with qualities to captivate a nation, and subdue a popular assembly. Bold and unhesitating in the part he was to take upon every public question, he was the master of a loud but harmonious voice, a commanding eye, an unrivalled energy, but at the same time

Mr. Pitt.

1744. propriety of language, and a light of imagination which flashed from him with brilliant splendour, and was gone ere any one could pronounce that the speaker was fanciful or digressive. Upon every important subject he appealed to some common and inspiring sentiment: the feeling of national honour, disgust at political corruption, the care of popular liberty, contempt of artifice, or hatred of oppression. But, provided the topic were animating and effective, he little cared whether it were one on which a wise patriot could honestly dilate: a vulgar prejudice served his turn as well as an ancient and useful privilege: he countenanced every prevailing delusion; and hurried the nation to war, not as a necessary evil, but as an honourable choice. Above all, he loved to nurse the popular jealousy of France; and it was upon his means of gratifying this feeling that he seemed to build his hopes of future power. Ever ready to be the mouth-piece of the cry or clamour of the hour, he could be as inconsistent as the multitude itself: in his earlier days, when reproached with his change of opinion, he pleaded honest conviction of error; after he had acquired authority, he faced down his accusers with a glare of his eye and the hardihood of his denial. Nor, although he assumed a tone of virtue superior to his age, was he more scrupulous than others in political intrigue: but his object was higher. Instead of bartering his conscience for a large salary or a share of patronage, he aimed at undivided power, the fame of a great orator, to be the fear of every cabal, and the admiration of a whole people.

French project of invasion.

Towards the end of the year 1743, the French court made great preparations for an invasion of England. An

army of 15,000 men, under Count Saxe, with a fleet of thirteen sail of the line, were prepared for this purpose; and the young pretender was sent from Rome to take part in the expedition. The fleet under Roquefeuille came in sight of Spithead, and seeing no ships there, the admiral concluded that the English had retired within their harbours, and sent directions to Dunkirk for the transports to put to sea. They did so, and arrived very near the English coast, when they were assailed by a violent storm, which forced them back to France with some loss. An English fleet of three ships of 100 guns, four of 90, six of 70, and six of 50, had in the meantime assembled at Spithead; and coming round the South Foreland, discovered the French fleet at anchor off Dungeness. By an unaccountable tardiness, Sir John Norris put off attacking them till the next morning: the French admiral, however, having now no object in keeping the sea, took advantage of a fresh breeze in the night, and got into Brest harbour. Feb. 23.

It is impossible to deny that this expedition was well planned, and was defeated only by the elements. The French fleet took the English government unawares, and for some days commanded in the channel. Had the young pretender landed with 15,000 regular troops, led by an able general, the consequences might have been serious. The military force stationed in England at that time was not more than 6000 men.*

The only effect of this expedition was to rouse the

* Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole.

1744. ardour of the English people, who, upon the prospect of an invading army, at once suppressed their murmurs, and ardently embraced a cause which had now become the defence of their own independence. Loyal addresses were presented by the city of London and the principal towns in Great Britain; five hundred and twenty merchants subscribed their names to support public credit, and defend the Protestant succession. The divisions in the cabinet were for a time suspended, and parliament voted a supply of ten millions, a larger sum than had ever before been granted. Such was the consequence of the threat of invasion, such it has been since, and such it ever will be, while the spirit of freedom remains.

Dissensions
in the
cabinet.

But the divisions in England were suspended only for a time. The friends of the House of Hanover reflected on the improvidence of a minister who left England to the defence of 6000 men against an invading force of 15,000. Lord Carteret, now Lord Granville, was in many respects the very reverse of Lord Orford. With all the accomplishments of a scholar, and the lofty views of a liberal and enlarged mind, he was vain and presumptuous, had no definite plan, and often offended his colleagues by the haughtiness of his manners. The Duke of Newcastle, on the other hand, was timid, cringing, and irresolute; so that it was well said of the two ministers, that Carteret made a trifle of every difficulty, and Newcastle made a difficulty of every trifle. The major part of the administration, alarmed at Carteret's prodigality, began to check his ambitious measures, and he was often outvoted in the cabinet by four to one. Provoked at this situation, he declared that if his col-

leagues chose to take the government upon them, they might; but that if they would not, he would do it. Both parties began to look for other aid. In this attempt Lord Granville failed, and the Pelhams were successful. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, drew up a strong memorial, representing the ill-conduct of foreign affairs. This memorial, after being approved by the Pelhams, the Dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Argyll, and Montague, was presented to the king, who, upon reading it, shewed by his countenance the displeasure it had produced. Having no remedy, however, he at length signified to the chancellor that Lord Granville should resign. 1744.

Fall of Lord
Granville,
Nov. 23.

Broad-bot-
tom ministry.

The new administration, formed by a previous coalition of whig ministers and whig and tory opposition, was known by the name of *the broad bottom*. The Duke of Newcastle as secretary of state, and Mr. Pelham as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, obtained the direction of the empire. Lord Harrington was the other secretary of state; Lord Middlesex, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Lyttleton, were made lords of the treasury. Lord Cobham, to whose party Mr. Lyttleton belonged, likewise obtained the appointment of a lord of the admiralty for Mr. George Grenville. The Duke of Bedford was placed at the head of the admiralty, and his friend Lord Sandwich had a place at the board; Lord Gower, a tory, and lately a Jacobite, had the privy seal; Lord Chesterfield was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a previous embassy to the Hague; and Mr. Pitt was promised an office as soon as the king's prejudice against him could be softened. Thus all parties were for a time united.

equivalent conquered from France. At length, however, she agreed to wave these demands: a treaty was signed at Fuessen, by which the elector renounced his claim to the Austrian succession, engaged to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, and promised his vote in the college of electors to the Duke of Lorraine; on the other hand, Maria Theresa relinquished her pretensions in Bavaria.* She continued, however, to cherish the project, and an attempt to carry it into effect was one of the last efforts of her persevering ambition.

1745.

April 22.
Treaty of
Fuessen.

The campaign was now about to commence. The greatest exertions of the French were to be directed to the side of Flanders: an army of 80,000 men was assembled in that quarter. The general chosen to command this formidable force was Count Saxe, whose name has been mentioned in the account of the former campaigns. He was the son of Maria-Aurora, Countess of Koenigsmarck, who, happening to go with her sisters to Dresden on some affairs of property, captivated King Augustus by her beauty and wit. Adrian Maurice was born on the 19th October, 1696. He very soon shewed his inclination for war. He was no more than twelve years old when he escaped from his mother, and went to serve under Marlborough and Eugene, who were then besieging Lisle. In the two following campaigns he served in the same army, was present at the battle of Malplaquet, and shewed so impetuous a valour at the sieges of Mons, Bethune, and Aire, that Prince Eugene said to him publicly, "Young man, learn

Count Saxe.

* House of Austria.

1745. not to confound rashness with courage." From this time he sought war wherever it was to be found, commanded a regiment in the Saxon army against Charles the Twelfth, and was with Prince Eugene at Peterwaradin. His mother having induced him to marry against his wishes, his numerous infidelities provoked the jealousy of his wife: in order to avoid her reproaches, he resolved to travel in France. The Duke of Orleans, then regent, persuaded him to enter the French service, and gave him a regiment of German infantry. His adventures, however, were not over. Being divorced from his wife, Anne, Duchess Dowager of Courland, promised to marry him, if the diet would elect him successor to the reigning duke, who was old and infirm. He was fortunate enough to be elected, and immediately began to collect troops to oppose the Poles, who declared the election null. When he was in this difficulty, Mademoiselle le Couvreur, the famous actress, who had been his mistress, sold her diamonds, and sent him 40,000 livres. Another amour, however, crushed his ambitious projects. He had seduced one of the attendants of the duchess, and used to carry her every night from her room to his own apartment on his back. One night he had the misfortune to stumble against an old woman: the intrigue was discovered, the Duchess of Courland rejected him, and his greatness was ruined.

In the war of 1733 he joined Marshal Berwick, who was then about to attack the lines of Etlingen. The marshal said to him, "I was going to send for 3000 men, but you alone are worth the number." We have seen how he was employed in the war of 1740. His chief

defect was extreme debauchery, which he continued even when his life was in danger from previous excesses. A troop of prostitutes always accompanied his head-quarters. His best quality was a regard for the lives of his soldiers. "It is better," he used to say, "to wait a few days, than to risk the loss of a single grenadier, whom it requires twenty years to form." One day a lieutenant-general, in recommending some attack, said, "You hazard at most the loss of a dozen soldiers." "I would not mind," said the marshal, "if it were a dozen lieutenant-generals." He was very illiterate; and although he composed a work in French, known by the name of his *Réveries*, he never was able to spell: his letter to the Duke of Noailles, when it was proposed to him to become a member of the French Academy, is a laughable proof of it.*

1745.

At the commencement of this campaign, Count Saxe was suffering from disease, said to be dropsy, and could scarcely sit on horseback. When Voltaire asked him, at Paris, how he would be able to support the fatigues of the field, he answered in the words of Pompey, "I am obliged to go; I am not obliged to live."†

His first operation was to invest Tournay, one of the

April 25.

* "Je rep ondu que se la malet comme une bage à un cha. Pour coy nan aites vous pas? Je creins les ridicules, et se luy si man paret un.—J'ai repondu que cela m'alloit comme une bague à un chat. Pourquoi n'en êtes-vous pas? Je crains les ridicules, et celui-ci m'en paroît un."—*Lettres du Maréchal de Saxe*, tom. i.

† "Il ne s'agit pas de vivre, mais de partir." "Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam," is the phrase of Pompey, which Voltaire, by the way, does not mention. The application of the saying to Count Saxe may perhaps be his own.

1745.
Siege of
Tournay.

strongest places of the barrier, which had been fortified by the skill of Vauban during the time that it was held by Lewis the Fourteenth. The king arrived at the camp about ten days afterwards.

The army of the allies consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of English; five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch, under the command of the Prince of Waldeck; and only eight squadrons of Austrians. The whole army amounted to scarcely 50,000 men.* The Duke of Cumberland was the nominal chief, and Marshal Kœnigsegg, an Austrian general of long experience, the real leader. With this unequal force, the allies determined to risk a battle, rather than lose a place of so much importance as Tournay.

Marshal Saxe, leaving 16,000 men to continue the siege, took up a position to the south of that town. His right rested on the Scheldt, occupying with cannon and infantry the village of Antoing, situated on the banks of that river. In the centre was a most formidable battery: the village of Fontenoy was in like manner occupied by his troops. Two lines of infantry were formed, *en potence*, towards the mount of La Trinité, on his extreme left: the cavalry were placed behind the infantry. On the left was a wood, called the wood of Bary, where the French raised some *abbatis* to assist their defence. Abbatis are branches of trees thrown together to stop the progress of cavalry or infantry. Three redoubts covered the front of the position; a battery was

* Voltaire. House of Austria.

placed on the other side of the Scheldt to protect Antoing, and the numerous entrenchments were furnished with 260 pieces of cannon. 1745.

On the 11th of May, at daylight, the allies appeared, and formed in two lines in front of the French army. According to the plan of the allies, the Dutch were to advance on the side of Antoing, and flank the village of Fontenoy; the British and Hanoverians were to attack the left and centre; General Ingoldsby was sent with a detachment of English to storm a redoubt in front of the village of Vizon; and the Prince of Waldeck was to attack that of Fontenoy. Thus it was hoped the position would be laid completely open, and the success of the attack on the centre ensured. May 11.
Battle of
Fontenoy.

Ingoldsby, however, after advancing a little way, took alarm at a small body of infantry posted in the wood of Bary, and returned for orders. On the other side, the Dutch, under the Prince of Waldeck, were repulsed with great loss. The consequence was, that the British and Hanoverian infantry had to advance between two large redoubts, which poured a cross-fire into their ranks. They were not dismayed, however, by these obstacles. Forming in three lines, each four deep, they advanced steadily, carrying with them their cannon, which in difficult places they helped on by bodily exertion. The space through which they advanced was not above four hundred toises broad, and their ranks were swept every moment by the cannon of the enemy; but they still moved on, and compelled the French to retire three hundred paces behind Fontenoy, which, however, was still occupied. They had

1745. advanced thus far, when, at this critical instant, the Dutch were seen to fly. The Duke of Cumberland, perceiving the English and Hanoverians waver, rode into the thickest of the fight; and calling the English his countrymen, reminded them of Blenheim and Ramillies. "I scorn," he cried, "to expose you to a danger to which I would not expose myself." He was seconded by Sir John Ligonier; and the troops, animated by such an example, went boldly forward against the centre of the enemy.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards, and three other regiments. The French guards made a charge, with the hope of taking the English guns, but speedily retired, after losing sixty of their number by a fire of musketry. The English, in their advance, soon came to within fifty paces of the spot where the French and Swiss guards were drawn up. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats: the French returned the salute. Lord Charles Hay, of the English guards, called out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire." The Count of Hauteroche, then a lieutenant of grenadiers, answered, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; fire yourselves."

The English now commenced a rolling fire, each rank firing in turn, while the others reloaded. Nineteen officers of the French guards, and eleven of the Swiss, with 589 soldiers, were killed and wounded by this discharge. The French ranks were too far apart to fire in a similar manner. After two or three discharges, the French guards dispersed and fled. The English column still advanced with the most perfect steadiness. On the appearance of a body of

infantry on their flank, the front of the column marched to the left, fired, and returned to their post. The French could not withstand the musketry fire of the English and Germans, which was directed with the utmost precision: the non-commissioned officers were seen to lower with their canes the muskets of the men, that they might have the better aim.

1745.

The separate attacks made by bodies of French infantry on the English column were all defeated; Marshal Saxe ordered a charge of cavalry, which was equally unsuccessful. Koenigsegg congratulated the Duke of Cumberland on having gained the victory: Marshal Saxe advised the King of France to repass the bridge of Calonne, by which he had advanced. It is the opinion of Frederic of Prussia, that if the English column had divided, and marched to the right and left, leaving their cavalry to advance against the enemy's centre, the day would have been their own. But they stood immovable, a solid body, wanting an able head; nor did the other divisions of the army make any effort to support their success. The cavalry did not venture to advance, on account of the troops in the village of Fontenoy. These troops, it was afterwards known, had no powder. The Dutch, who might have made the victory certain, were scarcely in the field of battle.

The French, for a long time, continued to attack the column, one regiment after another, and one after another were driven back with loss. Marshal Saxe, who notwithstanding his illness, rode along every part of the field, desired the troops not to attack any more except in

1745. concert; he gave orders to evacuate Antoin, and made every preparation for a retreat: one great attack, however, was resolved upon. Four guns, which had been placed to defend the king's person, were moved in front of the adverse column, and commenced firing at a distance of not more than forty yards. It is said by some, though disputed by others, that this measure was suggested by the Duke of Richelieu, who rode up to the king and obtained his consent to it. At the same time a general attack of cavalry and infantry was prepared in the front and on both the flanks of the English and Hanoverian column. The combined attack was tremendous. In seven or eight minutes the English column was open on all sides; General Ponsonby, brother of Lord Bessborough, and many other officers, were killed: the confidence of success was lost. "The English rallied, but gave way; they left the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were defeated with honour." Such are the words of a French historian.

The loss of the French was said to be about 2300 killed, and 4800 wounded; but it was probably much greater. The allies are said to have had upwards of 10,000 men killed or wounded.

The battle of Fontenoy appears, to an ignorant observer, more creditable to the valour of the troops of the nations engaged (excepting the Dutch) than to the skill of the commanders. Allowing that Marshal Saxe took up a good position, and that Koenigsegg made a good plan of attack, the one failed, and the other was slow in taking advantage of the circumstances of the battle.

On the one hand, the English column, unsupported, could hardly fail to be beat at last; and, on the other, the French regiments were allowed to attack singly, at the sole command of their colonels. The important measure of bringing up guns against the column, has been generally attributed to casual advice. The King of Prussia, indeed, in one of his letters, exalts the battle of Fontenoy as more creditable to the general than any other modern battle; but this may be flattery of a rival commander. 1745.

It may be remarked, that at no period was musketry of more importance in war than at this period. After the example of the Prussian infantry, steady and quick firing was esteemed the true secret of victory.

On the following day Lewis went over the field of battle: shocked by the spectacle of so many mangled bodies, he turned to his son the dauphin, and said, "You see here the victims of the political hatreds and passions of our enemies; preserve the recollection of this sight, that you may learn not to sport with the lives of your subjects, and not to waste their blood in unjust wars." The lesson might have been retorted on himself; for what but the ambition of France first kindled war upon the continent?

The garrison of Tournay surrendered the citadel on the 19th of June. They engaged not to serve for eighteen months against the French. Surrender of
Tournay,
June 19.

Just as the French army was leaving Tournay, a reinforcement of 20,000 men from the Rhine arrived to join them. With this great numerical force, their progress encountered no interruption. M. du Chaila defeated a detachment of 5000 men, which the Duke of Cumber- Progress of
the French.

1745. land had directed to throw itself into Ghent. Alarmed by this misfortune, the allied army retreated into Brussels: Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Nieuport, Dendermonde, Ostend, and Aeth, fell successively into the hands of the French. Marshal Saxe then put his troops into winter-quarters. The arms of France had not been so successful in Flanders since the year 1672, and, in that case, the conquests made were speedily lost; but as Lewis the Fifteenth set less value on conquest than his grandfather, and had no Boileau to flatter him, the fame of this campaign has been far less.

Campaign of
Silesia.

The campaign of Silesia began a month later than that of Flanders. The armies of Austria and Prussia had not gone into winter-quarters till February, and required some repose. Frederic, taught by the experience of the last campaign, was determined not to enter this year into Bohemia, where, without magazines, he knew it was impossible to subsist. He determined, on the contrary, to entice the enemy into Silesia, and to make use of stratagem, which, if not too often employed, he considered to be of excellent service in war. Instead, therefore, of defending the numerous roads which lead from Bohemia into Silesia, he drew back across the mountains, and contrived by means of spies to delude the Austrians into the belief that he was intent only upon a safe retreat. Prince Charles penetrated by the passes of Landshut and Friedberg, and finding his passage unmolested, determined to push on, and cut off the communication of Frederic with Silesia and his hereditary dominions. For this purpose, he ordered the Saxon auxiliaries to make themselves masters of Strigau, which was occupied by a Prussian

detachment. Frederic in the mean time ordered his advanced guard to march to the same place: the Saxons were astonished to find themselves attacked at break of day by the vigorous charge of the Prussians, and were easily defeated and dispersed. 1745.

Prince Charles was informed of the firing, but attributed it to the Saxons moving against Strigau. He was, therefore, totally surprised by an attack on both his wings almost at the same time. Frederic finding that his right had nothing before it, made it wheel a quarter to the left, and take the Austrians in flank. The Prussian left attacked with such impetuosity that they carried all before them. De Gesler, who commanded the second line, seeing the success of the two wings, ordered the Prussian infantry to open, and passing through them with three columns of cavalry, bore down on the Austrian infantry, and with such signal success, that by this single charge he took 4000 prisoners and 66 pair of colours. The Prussian officers vied with each other in skill, enterprise, and glory. The Austrians were totally routed, and gained the mountains with the utmost speed. Happily for them, Wallis and Nadasti, who had not been engaged, came to their assistance, and covered their retreat. The Prussians pursued to the heights of Kander. Battle of Friedberg, June 4.

The loss of the Prussians in this action was less than 2000 men. That of the Austrians was 4000 in killed and wounded: 4 generals, 200 officers, 7000 men, 76 pair of colours, 7 standards, and 60 pieces of artillery, taken.

The army of Prussia had now reached perfection. The king had learnt, by applying genius to experience, the art Perfection of the Prussian army.

1745. of war; his officers had acquired that spirit of emulation and quickness of eye which the consciousness of serving an able leader always produces; the infantry was a model of discipline and valour; the cavalry, which a few years before had been spiritless and inefficient, was now the best in Europe.

It must not be wondered at if these achievements inspired Frederic with some pride. In relating the battle of Friedberg and the exploits of his troops, he loftily declares, that "the world does not rest more safely on the shoulders of Atlas than Prussia on such an army." He remarks, that this was the third battle which had been fought for Silesia; and adds coolly, "when kings play for provinces, men are the counters they play with."*

Prince Charles continued his retreat into Bohemia, and took up a strong position at the confluence of the Adler and the Elbe. The King of Prussia advanced to Konigsgratz, which his army invested. The positions of both armies were too strong to be attacked without great risk of defeat.

Dispositions
of Frederic.

After the battle of Friedberg, Frederic renewed to George the Second the proposals of peace which he had previously made. He considered that France had not fulfilled the engagements of her treaty with him; that by leaving Germany, and confining her activity to Flanders, she exposed him to the whole weight of the House of Austria. He even wrote to Lewis the Fifteenth, that the battle of Fontenoy, though glorious to the French arms,

* Hist. de mon Temps.

was of no more use to him than a victory on the banks of the Scamander, or the taking of Pekin. These comparisons displeased the dignity of Versailles, and he received from Lewis a dry and haughty answer. Seeing, therefore, that he gained nothing by war further than the defence of Silesia, he sought an opportunity of securing that province by a peace. 1745.

The views of England coincided with those of Frederic. English statesmen were chiefly intent upon diminishing the number of the allies of France, and cared little for the resentments of Maria Theresa. Some were even disposed to court the alliance of Prussia in preference to that of Austria.*

Maria Theresa, on the other hand, was most averse to a peace with Frederic. She entertained a species of aversion to him, in which were mingled resentment of his conduct at the beginning of the war, anger for the loss of Silesia, and an instinctive feeling that the King of Prussia was an upstart, who, from the dependent, had become the rival, of the House of Austria. The English cabinet, finding her so obstinate against a peace with Frederic, ordered Mr. Robinson to threaten her with the discontinuance of the subsidy. In the conversation which took place between the empress and the British envoy on this occasion, the Queen of Hungary expressed her confidence that Prince Charles alone was able to fight another battle. "That battle, madam, if won, would not conquer Silesia; if lost, your majesty is ruined at home." "Even if I were to

Of Maria
Theresa.

* See Note (A) at the end of the Volume.

1745. make peace with him to-morrow, I would give him battle this evening! Give me only till October, and then you may do what you please." The result of this audience, and of the council which followed, convinced the court of St. James's, that Maria Theresa ought no longer to be allowed to sport with the resources of England for the gratification of her revenge. George the Second, therefore, by the advice of his ministers, secretly concluded a convention with the King of Prussia, at Hanover, by which he guaranteed to that prince the possession of Silesia, and promised his endeavours to obtain the accession of the other European powers. Frederic and Maria Theresa were mutually to guarantee each other's dominions; and the vote of Prussia, in the electoral college, was to be given to the Duke of Lorraine.*

Convention
of Hanover.

Sept. 13.
Election of
the Emperor
Francis.

The Queen of Hungary indignantly refused to accede to this convention; and while Frederic, contrary to his engagements, proclaimed aloud his reconciliation with England, Prince Charles was ordered to pursue the war with increased activity. In the midst of these events, the Duke of Lorraine was elected emperor at Frankfort, and took the title of Francis the First.

Frederic had taken post at Jaromitz, near the confluence of the Metau, the Aupe, and the Elbe. Prince Charles, unwilling to attack the Prussians in a strong position, cut off their communications, surprised their magazines, and harassed them by continual skirmishes of the Hungarian cavalry. Frederic, who had only 18,000 men with him,

* House of Austria.

abandoned his position, and retreated to Staudentz, on his way to Silesia. Prince Charles, knowing the wishes of his sovereign, determined to attack his antagonist.

1745.

The position of the Prussians was commanded on the right by a hill occupied only by a few hussars. It was on this side that the Austrian army advanced. The Prussians had very little cavalry, and were, in effect, surprised by the Austrians. Two roads, one on the right and one on the left of the camp, led from Staudentz into Silesia. But Frederic, judging that he could not retreat through defiles without immense loss, resolved to fight, although with so inferior a force. The Prussians wheeled a quarter to the right, in order to present a front parallel to the enemy: this manœuvre was executed with the utmost steadiness, and the troops deployed, under the fire of twenty-eight pieces of cannon, with the order and correctness of a field-day. When the whole army had changed its front, Frederic commanded an attack of cavalry. The Austrian horse were formed upon the left of their army, in three lines crowded together: they fell into confusion, and threw themselves back upon their infantry. The Prussian infantry, seeing this success, advanced in their turn. At first their ranks were thinned by the enemy's cannon, and they were forced to retire; but five battalions of the reserve coming to their assistance, they again charged, and succeeded in taking the battery which galled them. They then took the Austrian infantry in flank, and obliged it to retire upon its own right. The guards of the centre, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, attacked and made themselves masters of a height where the enemy still

Sept. 30.
Battle of
Sohr.

1745. held out. What is singular enough, they were under the command of Prince Lewis of Brunswick, the brother of Prince Ferdinand. The Austrians now fell into disorder, and retreated on all sides. The Prussians on the left captured ten pair of colours and 1700 prisoners. About 300 more prisoners and twenty-two cannon were taken by the other parts of the army. The hilly nature of the country saved the Austrians during their retreat; and Frederic was well satisfied to repulse and defeat 40,000 with no more than 18,000 men. Notwithstanding his victory, Frederic continued his retreat into Silesia: the smallness of his force, and the difficulty of procuring provisions, made it imprudent for him to take up winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Information was brought to the King of Prussia that the courts of Vienna and Dresden had formed a plan of uniting the army of the Prince of Lorraine and the Saxon troops, in order to march through Saxony directly upon Berlin. This project was to be executed in the winter, when the body of the Prussian army was in Silesia, and Berlin was defended by no more than 5000 men. Frederic instantly formed his decision; and in spite of the objections of his ministers, who would not believe in the designs imputed to the enemy, he resolved to forestall the Prince of Lorraine, and to fall upon the Saxons and Austrians on two sides at once. The army of Silesia was to act against that of the Prince of Lorraine, surprise it, if possible, in its cantonments in Lusatia, or risk a battle, in order to drive the invaders back into Bohemia. The Prince of Anhalt, on the other side, was to march against

Short cam-
paign in
Saxony.

Meissen, on the road to Dresden. The king himself took the command of the Silesian army. His plan succeeded to perfection. The Prince of Lorraine was surprised, and driven back with loss. The Prince of Anhalt moved slowly, but this fault was compensated by the negligence of the Saxons, who omitted to destroy the bridge of Meissen. The Prince of Anhalt arrived there on the 12th of December, and on the 13th was joined by a part of the army of the king. On the same day, the Prince of Lorraine arrived with his army in the vicinity of Dresden. The Saxons took post at Kesseldorf: here they were attacked on the 15th by the Prince of Anhalt; a battery of twenty-four guns defended the village of Kesseldorf on the left of the position. This arrangement was imitated from that which Marshal Saxe had made at the battle of Fontenoy. The Prince of Anhalt, instead of turning the village, imprudently attacked it in front: his troops were repulsed; but the Saxons, with still greater imprudence, pursued beyond the village, and prevented the fire of their own batteries. The Prince of Anhalt, profiting ably by this fault of his adversaries, ordered a charge of dragoons, which threw them into confusion. The village was taken, the left of the enemy turned, and the Prussians gained a complete victory: nearly 7000 prisoners and 48 pieces of artillery were taken. Dec. 15.

The Saxons were utterly dispirited by this defeat: they abandoned the capital, leaving it garrisoned only by militia. Frederic entered Dresden as a conqueror; and making a display of his magnanimity, treated the royal family with

Capture of
Dresden.

1745. respect, preserving, at the same time, the strictest discipline among his troops. He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in the churches, and his favourite opera at the theatre.

The King of Prussia was prepared to reap a more solid advantage from his victory. For several months he had endeavoured to make peace with the empress queen, on condition of her acceding to the convention of Hanover. After his victories and conquests he still renewed the same offer. His motives were, that he had no reason to expect any assistance from France; that Russia threatened to take part in the war against him; that the death of Charles the Seventh had destroyed all hope of depriving the House of Austria of the imperial dignity, and that the Prussian finances were entirely exhausted. To all this was added, the consideration that, by the acquisition of Silesia, he had obtained as much as he could expect, and that his best chance of retaining that province was by consenting to a peace which might soothe the apprehensions and allay the jealousy of Europe. The Queen of Hungary, yielding to the decree of fortune, was now ready to accede to the convention of Hanover. The King of Poland bound himself to pay a million on the part of Saxony, and to claim no indemnity for the expenses of the war. On these terms, peace was signed on the 25th of December, 1745.

Dec. 25.
Peace of
Dresden.

From this time, the war, which had been gradually losing its first character, was carried on with new objects and designs. Maria Theresa, threatened with no further spoliation, aspired to conquest and revenge. England and France seemed to rejoice in an opportunity of indulging ancient animosity. Rational cause of war there was none;

but belligerents, like gamesters, know not when to leave off: they always hope that the next throw of the dice may enable them to retire as winners; or, in the more pompous language of state papers, procure for them a just, secure, and honourable peace. 1745.

An expedition, the object of which was extremely popular in England, was undertaken this year by the board of admiralty. Its purpose was to reduce Cape Breton, the great place of resort of the French fisheries in North America. Louisbourg, the chief port of the island, was likewise a refuge for their privateers, and a guard as it were of the province of Canada. The expedition was first planned in the English colonies of North America, and so zealous were the people of New England, that they readily furnished nearly 4000 volunteers for the undertaking. While the volunteers and marines kept up a powerful fire on the batteries by which Louisbourg was defended, Commodore Warren intercepted several vessels which attempted to succour the place. The besieged, reduced to live upon salt fish, and unable to prevent the destruction of their defences, at length surrendered, and received from the English commander the most favourable terms. The troops were to be conveyed to France. The loss of the besiegers was not more than 100 men. Expedition against Cape Breton. Its reduction, June.

CHAPTER III.

Invasion of England by Prince Charles Stuart. Battle of Preston-Pans. March to Derby. Battle of Culloden. War in Flanders. In Italy. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1745.
The rebellion
in Scotland.

WE have now to record another attempt, and it was the last, of the Stuart family to repossess themselves of the throne of Great Britain, which they had enjoyed by hereditary right, and forfeited by their crimes against the laws and liberties of the realm. Still, many clung fondly to a cause which bore a semblance of justice; and, since a son succeeds to his father in the possession of private property, deemed the descendants of James the Second wrongfully debarred from the crown. But the benefit of this great example of the responsibility of a sovereign was not fated to be lost: the spectacle of the posterity of a banished monarch expiating his crimes, degenerating even from his weakness, and waning in reputation till they were finally extinguished, was destined to be completed for the instruction of kings, and the satisfaction of free nations.

Jacobite
intrigues.
1741.

Soon after the breaking out of the war between Spain and England, the more zealous and leading Jacobites had a meeting at Edinburgh, where they framed an association, engaging themselves to take arms, and venture their lives

and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided the King of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. This association, like that which brought King William to England, was signed by seven persons, viz. Lord Lovat; James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth; Lord Traquair; Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck; Cameron of Lochiel; John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair; and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. Drummond of Bochaldy carried to Rome this paper, and another containing a list of Highland chiefs supposed to be favourable to the cause: the pretender approved, and sent the papers by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury. That cautious minister contented himself at first with a general assurance of conditional support: he afterwards appears to have gone further. In the month of February 1742, Drummond of Bochaldy came to Edinburgh, where he made his report to a Jacobite association, called the concert of gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland: he told them that Cardinal Fleury had engaged, provided he had sufficient promise of support, to send 13,000 men to invade Great Britain; namely, 1500 to the West Highlands, 1500 to the east coast of Scotland, and 10,000, under Count Saxe, to land as near London as possible, accompanied by Charles Stuart, the pretended Prince of Wales. The Jacobites were much pleased with this news: nothing farther was done, however, till the beginning of the following year, when Murray of Broughton, secretary to the concert of gentlemen, was sent to Paris to learn Fleury's intentions. On his way he heard of the death of the cardinal: he proceeded to Paris, however,

1742.

1743.

1743. and was well received by M. Amelot, secretary for foreign affairs, who informed him that the project of invasion had been put into the hands of Cardinal Tencin; the king, he added, had ordered him to assure Mr. Murray he had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any member of the association, and that he would take the first opportunity to execute the plan of invasion.
- December. In the month of December of the same year, Cardinal Tencin having nearly completed the preparations for the armament, sent a messenger to Rome to desire Prince Charles Stuart to come immediately to Paris. Charles, giving out that he was going to a boar-hunt, left Rome, and proceeded by Genoa and Antibes to Paris.
1744. The result of this journey was the expedition of 1744, of which we have elsewhere recorded the progress and the failure.
- The pre-tender's son. When this expedition was given up, Charles retired to Gravelines, where he lived very privately, calling himself the Chevalier Douglas. Growing impatient of this way of life, he began to talk of going to Scotland alone: Murray of Broughton, who saw him at this time, endeavoured to dissuade him from so rash an attempt, and, returning to Edinburgh, wrote him a letter, containing the opinion of all his friends there, with only one exception, that he ought not to appear in Scotland without assistance from France. This letter never reached the prince.
- Matters were in this state when the news of the battle of Fontenoy excited Charles to a resolution, which, however imprudent, was not unbecoming a young man of high spirit and fallen fortunes. Imagining that the British

army was so weakened by its losses that it could not oppose him in any formidable numbers, he resolved to seek the coast of Scotland alone, and throw himself upon his adherents. The court of France, without openly approving this attempt, secretly favoured it. By means of two privateering merchants, Charles obtained an old man-of-war of 60 guns, and a frigate of 16 guns, called the *Doutelle*. 1745.

Charles embarked on board the *Doutelle* at Nantes on the 20th of June. The 60-gun ship was met on the passage by the *Lion*, an English man-of-war of equal force; and, after an obstinate combat, was obliged to put back to refit. Charles, in the *Doutelle*, cast anchor off the island of South Uist, and went on shore on the isle of Erisca. When he returned to his ship he was joined by Boisdale, a brother of Clanronald, who, however, gave a decided negative to all his proposals, and said he would do his utmost to prevent his brother and his nephew from joining in so desperate an enterprise. Charles then pursued his course to the Bay of Lochnanuagh, where he again cast anchor. He sent a boat ashore with a letter to young Clanronald, who, with Kinloch Moidart, his kinsman, soon repaired on board his ship. Charles asked, and even entreated, that they would join his enterprise, but with as little success as before: they declared it would bring destruction on their own heads, and doggedly refused. As they discussed the matter with Charles, they walked up and down the deck; the prince, in the greatest agitation, using every argument to awaken their feelings. A highlander, armed at all points, who was a brother of Moidart, stood near them. As he gathered the

Embarks at
Nantes.

Arrives on
the coast of
Scotland.

1745. purport of their discourse, his colour came and went, and he seemed much moved. Charles, observing this, turned round quickly upon him, and cried, "Will not you assist me?" "I will, I will," said the highlander: "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you!" This declaration drew a warm expression of thanks from Charles: the two other Macdonalds, stung by this tacit reproach to their spirit and courage, instantly declared that they would call their countrymen to arms. The prince went on shore, and was conducted to Boradale, a farm belonging to Clanronald. The persons who landed with him were, the Marquess of Tullibardine; Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Irishman, who had been tutor to Charles; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Kelly, who had been concerned in Atterbury's plot; Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris; and Buchanan, who had been sent to Rome by the Cardinal de Tencin.

State of the
Highlands.

The Highlands of Scotland comprehend a mountainous tract in the north of that kingdom, bounded by a line drawn from Dumbarton, on the western coast, through Dunkeld and Blairgowrie to Nairn, on the eastern, and thence by Inverness and Dingwall to Duninstra, upon the Frith of Dornoch. The Highlands and islands belonging to them make nearly one half of Scotland in extent, but do not, at this time, contain one-eighth part of the inhabitants. The Highlanders are a Celtic people, and speak a Celtic language, which is not understood in the Lowlands. Their character is no less distinct: pasturage, the chase,

1745.

and war, are their favourite occupations; when employed in these, they are skilful, enterprising, and dauntless; at other times, they seem sluggish, indolent, and of slow capacity. For arts, manufactures, and literature, they have little aptitude; their physical desires are confined to what is barely necessary; their mental wants are amply supplied by tales of feuds, of battles, or of superstition. They believe in numerous spiritual beings, accompanied with all the train of luck and ill-luck; omens to be dreaded, indifferent actions to be avoided, bad demons to be propitiated. Of mortal man they have no apprehension; they know neither to fear nor to forgive. They are divided into clans, each of which has its separate Cean Cinne, or head of the kindred. The clan all bear his name, and consider him as the patriarch of their family, their hereditary judge, and their sole leader in war. His lands are let on easy terms to the nearest of his relations, who let them again on like conditions to the inferior members of the clan. As the Highlands are much intersected by mountains and rivers, the train of subordination is kept up by means of smaller chieftains, who carry on and complete the chain of connexion. The reverence which a highlander pays to his chief is unequalled in the most despotic countries. It is not a master, whose power he dreads and at the same time hates, but a father, whose commands engage his affections, his principles, and his duty. The most sacred oath to a highlander was to swear by the hand of his chief. Ready at all times to sacrifice himself, a highlander has been known to interpose his body between his chief and the musket that was aimed at him.

1745. Nor is he less ready to kill than to die for his leader. A traveller in the Highlands, a few years ago, asked a highlander, "What would you do for your chief? — would you kill me, for instance?" The instant reply was, "Aye, that would I, if the chief bid me!"

The dress of the highlanders is familiar to us: what is not so well known is, that the kilt or philibeg was only introduced in the Highlands about the year 1720, by one Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman.* Their houses were usually built of soil or turf; sometimes of clay and stone without lime. The winter town, as it was called, consisted of a number of such houses. They sleep in their plaids upon boards, covered with a blanket. In the summer they go to the hills, where they live in temporary huts till the end of August. For a great part of the year they subsist chiefly upon whey, cheese, butter, and other preparations of milk. The chieftains are often with them, and disdain to call it hardship to live for many days, in the open air, upon the produce of their hunting and fishing. An old Highland chieftain, in one of these parties, reproached his son as an effeminate milk-sop, because he saw him at night rolling some snow into a pillow for his head.

Men of such habits and institutions were already soldiers. Each was armed with a broad sword, a dirk, and a target: before the general use of fire-arms, each had likewise his bow and arrows, afterwards exchanged for a musket. Nor did they want the practice of war. The

* See Culloden Papers, p. 289, note.

feuds of the different clans were often exasperated to blood, for which the sentences of the law-courts could afford, in the eyes of the highlanders, no atonement. They carried their complaints, indeed, before the judges at Edinburgh; but this was an addition to, and not a substitute for, deeds of rapine and revenge. Lochiel and Mackintosh were at war and at law for three hundred and sixty years.* 1745.

It remains to be said that the highlanders are extremely hospitable, and have a natural politeness of manners, derived from the aristocratic nature of their institutions; in their private conversation, however, they always speak with much contempt of lowlanders and Englishmen.

The first person of importance whom Charles saw at Boradale was Cameron of Lochiel, called Young Lochiel, because his father, who had been attainted, and had fled to the continent, was still living. Lochiel was one of those who had signed the engagement, and the prince, as soon as he saw him, called upon him to fulfil his promise. Lochiel replied, that the engagement was no way binding, as Charles had come without the stipulated aid; and as there was not in that case the least prospect of success,

Cameron of
Lochiel.

* It shews how little the law was respected in the Highlands, that Lord Lovat, in a letter to the first judge in Scotland, written in 1746, writes thus: "I solemnly swear to Gortaley, that if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and see them seized and hanged."†

† Cull. Papers, p. 234.

1745. he advised his royal highness to return to France, to await a more favourable opportunity. Charles replied with warmth, that a more favourable opportunity could not be; that almost all the British troops were in Flanders, and that a single success on the part of the highlanders would raise his friends in England, and bring succour from France. Lochiel still declined, and entreated the prince to remain concealed while he consulted his friends. But Charles could keep his patience no longer. "In a few days," he exclaimed, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." Lochiel was unable to withstand this sarcasm upon his courage. "No," he replied, "I'll share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." What makes this conversation the more remarkable, is, that on his way to Boradale, Lochiel had called on his brother, Cameron of Fassefern, and after informing him of the prince's arrival, added, that as Charles had brought neither arms, money, nor troops, he, Lochiel, was resolved not to be concerned in the affair. His brother applauded his resolution, but advised him to write rather than go to the prince. Lochiel rejoined, "I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons for declining to join him, which admit of no reply." "Brother," said Fassefern, "I know you better than you know yourself.

If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases.”* It is a point agreed among the highlanders, that if Lochiel had resisted, none of the other chiefs would have joined the rebel standard: so that had Lochiel’s courtesy been less punctilious, or his sense of honour less irritable, the country would not have been torn by civil war; and the blood of three fields of battle, as well as that shed upon the scaffold, would have been spared.

1745.

Charles now wrote letters to the chiefs, desiring their presence on the 19th of August, at Glenfinnin, where he meant to hoist his standard. Before this day arrived, two companies of English infantry, marching from Fort Augustus to Fort William, were surrounded and taken prisoners by the Macdonalds, and other Highland clans. This dawn of success gave spirit to the enterprise. When Charles arrived in the narrow pass of Glenfinnin, he beheld the Camerons, 7 or 800 in number, lining the tops of the hills, with the English prisoners between their ranks: he immediately hoisted his standard.

Charles summons the chiefs.

Two English companies taken.

August 19. Rebel standard hoisted.

The king’s government.

Let us now turn to the proceedings of the king’s government. From the beginning of the summer there had been a flying report in the Highlands that the young pretender was to land somewhere in that country in the course of the summer. On the 2d of July, Lord President Forbes shewed to Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, a letter from a gentleman of consideration, mentioning this report, but attaching no credit to it. A little later the government received advices from abroad

July 2.

* Home’s Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 44.

1745. to the same effect. This information being imparted to the lord president, he wrote, on the 8th of August, to the Marquess of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland, to say that he should, on that account, make his journey to the Highlands earlier than usual that year, but adding, "I consider the report as improbable, because I am confident that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose, lawless men, of desperate fortunes, may, indeed, resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen who have aught to lose will, after the experience with which the year 1715 furnished them, think proper to risk their fortunes on an attempt which to them must appear desperate, especially as so many considerable families amongst themselves have so lately altered their sentiments, unless the undertaking is supported by an armed power from abroad, or seconded by an invasion on some other part of his majesty's dominions."

August 17. To this letter Lord Tweeddale replies, on the 17th August. After intimating his approbation of the lord president's journey to the north, he says, "I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the pretender's son landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it."* The confidence of the president on this occasion may teach us the fallibility of the quality called political foresight. Naturally a man of sound and penetrating judgment, he was well acquainted with the Highlands, and

* Cull. Papers, pp. 204—208.

only said what he knew, when he affirmed that the greater part of the chiefs were totally averse to any enterprise not assisted by men and money from France. Yet all his speculations were overturned by the impetuous temper of one young man.

1745.

As soon as the lords justices, who governed in the king's absence, became aware that the pretender was actually landed, no better way of meeting the rebellion appeared to them than that of crushing it in its cradle. When, therefore, General Cope wrote them word that he intended to march, with all the infantry he could collect, to meet the young pretender, they highly approved his resolution; and when they understood that the march had been delayed, though only for a day or two, they sent down orders for him to proceed forthwith.

Orders to
the king's
army.

The lords justices acted in this matter with a precipitation which, no doubt, they mistook for firmness and vigour. There is no more prudent quality than true boldness: it prepares its means, weighs chances, makes provision for accidents, and finally strikes a blow which is irresistible; because little has, in fact, been left to fortune. The boldness of the lords justices and of General Cope was of another kind. They had made no preparation for invasion: their best friends were left without the means of serving them. Their whole force in Scotland consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry. To this handful of men they sent orders to encounter a body of rebels, whose numbers they did not know, in a country where cavalry could not act.

What had been ill planned, was equally ill executed.

1745.
March of Sir
John Cope.

Sir John Cope marched with his little army, consisting of 1400 infantry, by Stirling and Crieff to Dalwhinnie. Near this place the road divides into two: one goes to Inverness; the other over a high mountain, called Corryarrak, to Fort Augustus.

Aug. 26.

It had been the intention of Sir John Cope to give battle to the highlanders, who were advancing by Abercaldar, and who arrived at the foot of Corryarrak on the same day that the English reached Dalwhinnie. But instead of doing so, he called a council of war, at which all his officers were of opinion that it would not be prudent to attack the highlanders, and that they would do better to proceed to Inverness than to retreat to Stirling.

He turns to
Inverness.

In execution of this strange resolution, they marched the next day. As soon as they came to the division of the roads, and took that which led to Inverness, a deserter left the army, and hastened to inform the highlanders, who were posted on the top of Corryarrak. The prince immediately descended the hill, and pursued his march to Edinburgh, which now lay entirely open to his arms.

The cheva-
lier at Perth.
Sept.

On the 4th of September the chevalier arrived at Perth with a force somewhat under 2000 men. He immediately proclaimed his father, James the Third, King of Great Britain, and published the commission appointing himself regent of the kingdom, with a manifesto signed by the pretender, both of them dated from Rome. On the 6th he was joined by the Duke of Perth, Lord Nairn, and Lord George Murray, brother of the Duke of Athol, as well as by several other persons of rank, each with his

followers and friends. Lord George Murray took the direction of the army: he possessed a natural genius for military operations, was in person tall and robust, indefatigable in application, fertile in resources, and brave to the highest degree. In the day of battle, he was always the first to rush, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy, often saying to his men, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but to follow me." This spirit roused the enthusiasm of the highlanders, whose courage, like that of all undisciplined troops, depended greatly on the opinion they formed of the skill and valour of their leader. With these high qualities, Lord George had some serious defects: he was proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious; he wished to have the exclusive disposal of every thing; and feeling his superiority, would listen to no advice. He saw, likewise, that the character of the chevalier himself was not of a nature to inspire respect from his followers.* Thus reinforced, and the road being left open, the prince advanced to Edinburgh. On the 14th, the Highland army were quartered at Falkirk; the prince himself passed the night at Callender, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock. On the night of the 15th the highlanders took post on a rising ground, near the twelfth mile-stone

* Among those who joined the chevalier at Perth, was the Chevalier Johnstone, the author of the *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745-6*, which we shall frequently have occasion to quote. He is believed to have been of an ancient and once powerful family—the Johnstones of Wamphray; but his father, excluded by the oath of allegiance from the learned professions, was a grocer in the city of Edinburgh. — *Quarterly Review*, No. LXXI. p. 211. His sister married Lord Rollo.

1745. from Edinburgh. On the 16th they reached the neighbourhood of Corstorphin; the chevalier himself lodged for the night at Gray's Mill, in the miller's cottage. While there, deputies arrived from the city to propose a capitulation. The prince replied, that he could not treat with his subjects. The next morning, all resistance being found impossible, he was conducted to Holyrood House, amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd, who, moved partly by curiosity, and partly by attachment for their ancient race of sovereigns, came to meet him more than half a mile from the city. He ordered a body of highlanders to form the blockade of the castle, and the rest of his small army to encamp at Duddingston, a village a small distance from Edinburgh, on the side of Holyrood.

Enters Edinburgh.
Sept. 17.

The movement of Sir John Cope towards Inverness had created no little uneasiness in England. The means at the immediate disposal of the government were not considerable. Four battalions of guards, and four other battalions, were the whole of the effective force.* But Dutch troops had embarked at Williamstadt, fresh levies were ordered, and the popular spirit rose at the prospect of danger. In the mean time, transports had been sent from Leith to bring back General Cope from his unfortunate expedition to the north. Sailing with a fair wind, he and his army arrived at Dunbar on the 17th. On the morning of the same day, two regiments of dragoons came into the town, but in a most shameful condition. Having retreated from Colt Bridge by Leith and Musselburgh,

Sept. 10.
— 17.

* Culloden Papers, p. 218.

they were preparing to halt for the night in a field, when the noise made by a dragoon, who had fallen into an old coal-pit, full of water, alarmed them so, that they mounted their horses, and fled in such disorder, that the road was strewn with swords, pistols, and carbines.

1745.

On the 19th General Cope encamped at Haddington, and on the 20th approached within a few miles of the rebel camp. The royal troops amounted to 2100 men.

The royal
army at
Haddington,
Sept. 19.

The army of the pretender was, in numbers, about equal to that of the king, but they were incompletely armed. About 1400 or 1500 had broad-swords and firelocks of all sorts and sizes, fusils, and fowling-pieces: of the rest, some had firelocks without swords, and some swords without firelocks. About 100 were armed with the blade of a scythe fastened to the end of a pitch-fork shaft: a part had only bludgeons. They had but one small iron gun, drawn on a cart by a highland pony. Knowing, however, that the fortune of insurgents depends upon the boldness and audacity of their first enterprises, the leaders assembled the army on the morning of the 20th of September, and immediately set out to meet the enemy.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the rebel force arrived within musket-shot of the royalists: they halted behind an eminence, having a full view of the camp of General Cope, who had chosen his position with great skill. On his right were two enclosures, surrounded by stone walls from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road of about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Preston-Pans: before him was another enclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch, filled with water, and from ten to twelve

1745. feet broad. On his left was a marsh which terminated in a deep pond, and behind him was the sea; so that he was thus enclosed as in a regular fortification. The rebel officers spent the afternoon in reconnoitering the position; but the more they observed it, the more did they despair of being able to attack it with success. At sunset their army traversed the village of Tranent, which was on their right, and took a new position opposite to the marsh. General Cope, at the same time, ordered his army to take a new front, supporting his right by the ditch of the enclosure, and his left by the sea. The road to Preston-Pans then lay behind him.

In the evening, Mr. Anderson, proprietor of the marsh, came to the prince, and relieved him from his embarrassment, by the assurance that there was a place in the marsh where he himself had frequently crossed when hunting. The prince instantly caused the place to be examined; and having ascertained that the passage was both safe and unguarded, ordered the army to pass through during the night. The highlanders moving along in files, formed themselves as soon as they came out of the marsh, and extended their line towards the sea. The prince himself conducted the second line of the insurgents.

Sept. 21.
Battle of
Preston-
Pans.

At break of day the first line of the rebels was formed in order of battle, at the distance of two hundred paces from the royal army. General Cope perceived them, but mistook them for bushes. The second line, consisting of about 600 men, was not yet out of the marsh, when the royalists, perceiving their error, fired an alarm gun.

Lord George Murray, who was at the head of the first

line, did not give the English time to recover from their surprise. They were scarcely formed in order of battle, when the highlanders rushed on, and the whole line was broken in a few minutes. Scarcely a bayonet was stained with blood. The English cavalry, seeing the highlanders within one hundred paces of them, wheeled about to get space for a charge; but they were followed so rapidly by the highlanders, that this movement only contributed to their defeat. The highlanders had been enjoined to aim at the noses of the horses with their swords, without minding the riders, as the natural movement of a horse wounded in the face, is to wheel round. They followed this advice most implicitly, and the English cavalry were instantly thrown into confusion. James M'Gregor, the son of the famous Rob Roy M'Gregor, who had armed the company he commanded with scythes, desired his men to cut at the legs of the horses, and the bodies of their riders. When advancing to the charge, he received five wounds. Stretched on the ground, he called out to his company, "My lads, I am not dead; I shall see if any one of you does not do his duty."

1745.

The highlanders, quickly pursuing their advantage, fell on the flanks of the remaining infantry, which, being exposed by the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way. The strong position of the English army now became their destruction. The road between the two enclosures was soon stopped up by the fugitives; and the highlanders followed so quickly, that they cut down without trouble those who attempted to climb the walls: some endeavoured to rally in the enclosure, but were soon put to flight. All

1745. the infantry of the king's army, with the exception of about 170, were either killed or taken prisoners. Six field-pieces, two mortars, all the tents, baggage, and military chest, likewise fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the insurgents was not more than thirty-four killed, and seventy wounded. General Cope, it was said, passed unknown through the midst of the rebels, by means of a white cockade which he put in his hat.

The highlanders, greatly rejoiced with their victory, related to each other what they had seen or done. Some spoke of a single highlander who had taken ten English soldiers prisoners at once: others of a mere lad, who had brought fourteen of the enemy to the ground with his sword. Indeed, when a panic terror seizes an army, circumstances of this kind are perfectly credible. The courage of an army is compounded of personal bravery and confidence in one another: no man would stand alone against a thousand armed opponents. If a soldier believes that his comrade will stand, he will hardly run away; if the contrary, he is almost sure to do so. Confidence, therefore, in one another, is what distinguishes an army from a rabble. This quality may be inspired by a common enthusiasm in the same cause, or it may be taught by the force of discipline. The highlanders, zealous for their prince, had the confidence of enthusiasm, although they wanted that of discipline: the English troops, which were raw levies, had neither the one nor the other.

Sept. 22.
Charles re-
turns to
Edinburgh.

The prince slept, the night of the battle, at Pinkey House. On the following day, being the 22d of September, he returned to Edinburgh, where he was received with the

loudest acclamations by the populace. He prohibited all public rejoicings to celebrate his victory, on the ground that it was purchased at the expense of the blood of his subjects; and granted a general amnesty for all treasons committed since the Revolution of 1688, provided the offenders made submission at the palace of Holyrood House within the space of four days. He likewise sent letters to the collectors of the land-tax and customs, ordering them to bring to Edinburgh all the public money in their hands, and to the magistrates of all the towns in Scotland, enjoining them to pay the contributions he imposed upon them.

1745.

The successes of the rebels at Edinburgh and Preston-Pans, produced a great change in the feelings of Scotland. To use the words of a witness well qualified to judge: "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."*

The person who writes thus was himself one of the chief actors in the drama. Duncan Forbes was a younger brother of the family of Forbes of Culloden, which had maintained, from the commencement of the civil wars, a

* Cull. Papers, p. 250.

1745, conscientious resistance to the exorbitant claims of the Stuarts. He was called to the bar in 1709; after the rebellion of 1715, in which he distinguished himself by his zeal and courage, he was made advocate depute; and rising gradually, became, in 1737, president of the court of session, the highest judicial office in Scotland. Power has been happily compared by d'Alembert to a pyramid, the summit of which can only be reached by flying or creeping. Duncan Forbes had attained it by the way of the eagle, not by that of the reptile. He rose by displaying a sound judgment on matters of the utmost delicacy and importance; by protecting his countrymen from persecution at the hazard of his personal interests; by shewing zeal for the reigning dynasty, because he thought it the right side, and without yielding even to the ministry which he served in any matter where their conduct appeared to him unjust or impolitic. While he upheld the cause of law and liberty, he shewed an active desire to promote the industry of his country; and if his means were not always judicious, his object was always patriotic. Some years before the rebellion, he had proposed to government to make regiments of the highland clans, and thus bind them to the government by the same tie of fidelity to their engagements and their leaders which retained them in the following of the Stuarts. Sir Robert Walpole was struck with the daring wisdom of this plan, and proposed it to the cabinet, where it was over-ruled by his short-sighted colleagues. The rebellion found Duncan Forbes a zealous and able, but unassisted adherent of the reigning family. To use again

his own words: " I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and if you except Macleod of Sky, supported by nobody of common sense or courage."* 1745.

There was much difference among the friends and adherents of the prince as to the course to be pursued after their recent victory. The army of the insurgents increased in numbers every day, and soon amounted to between 4 and 5000 men. With this force the chevalier became impatient to enter England; he was eager to grasp that crown for which he had encountered the perils of his gallant expedition, and he fancied that while his laurels were yet fresh, his appearance on English land would be a signal for the simultaneous rising of a large and powerful party. The chiefs of the clans, on the other hand, unused to regular warfare, accounted it most unwise to attempt the invasion of England with a mere handful of men. King George had returned to London on the 11th of September, and by his order the British troops were already on their way from Flanders, accompanied by 6000 Dutch auxiliaries. Many of the supporters of the prince, so far from being prepared to incur an immense risk for the sake of acquiring England, told him that they wished for nothing more than to seat him on the throne of Scotland. With this view, they exhorted him to annul the Union, as an act made during the usurpation, and to summon

Return of
King George,
Sept. 11.

* Cull. Papers, pp. 204—208.

1745.

a Scottish parliament. He was already master of the whole kingdom, with the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; and examples were not wanting in history of the ability of Scotland to maintain herself against all the power of her richer and stronger neighbour.

These discordant opinions gave rise to a warm debate in a council to which all the chiefs of clans were summoned. But the prince overpowered all opposition by affirming, that he had received letters from several English lords, assuring him that he should find them in arms on the borders with a considerable force.

The rebels
march to
England,
Nov. 1.

The prince began his march from Edinburgh on the 1st of November, having staid there just long enough to give the English government time to complete their preparations. The march was arranged with great skill and secrecy. Three great roads lead from Edinburgh to London: one runs along the eastern coast of Scotland, and entering England at Berwick-upon-Tweed, passes through Newcastle; another, taking a western direction, enters England at Carlisle; the third road lies between the other two. The rebel army was formed into three columns, each of which took a separate road, and all arrived on the 9th of November almost at the same instant, and much to their mutual surprise, on a heath within a mile of Carlisle. Marshal Wade, who was stationed with 11,000 men at Newcastle, including some of the troops from Flanders, and of the Dutch auxiliaries, was in such ignorance of the direction of the rebels, that he did not venture to quit his post.

Reach Car-
lisle,
Nov. 9.

Carlisle, a considerable town, and capital of the county

of Cumberland, had some fortifications of ancient style: the castle, which at that time was well furnished with artillery, was defended by a garrison of invalids. The Jacobite army opened the trenches before this place on the night of the 10th of November, at the distance of eighty yards from the walls; their artillery consisted of six Swedish field-pieces, recently received from France, and six other field-pieces, taken at the battle of Preston-Pans: it was directed by Mr. Grant, an able mathematician, who had been employed for many years with M. Cassini in the observatory at Paris.

1745.

In this situation, the chevalier hearing that Marshal Wade was on his road from Newcastle for the purpose of raising the siege, marched with the main body of his troops to Brampton, a town or village eight miles from Carlisle, leaving the Duke of Perth to carry on the siege with a small body of men. On the fifth day after opening the trenches, however, the inhabitants of Carlisle, alarmed at the threat of firing red-hot balls upon the town, surrendered. They first proposed to give up the town without the castle; but the prince refusing to receive the one without the other, the inhabitants obliged the garrison of the castle to surrender at the same time. Marshal Wade did not quit Newcastle till the 15th, the very day of the surrender; and on the 17th, having received information of the fall of the place he was marching to relieve, immediately returned to his quarters. The cause of this inactivity it is difficult to explain: having a force far superior to that of the rebels, and for the most part composed of excellent troops, he

Surrender of
Carlisle,
Nov. 15.

1745. might, even if he had been unwilling to risk an action, have kept sufficiently near to cause great loss, if not total destruction to the enemy, in case of retreat or disaster.

The rebel army, upon being reviewed at Carlisle, was found to consist of about 5000 infantry and 500 cavalry. The prince held a council of the highland chiefs, at which he pretended that he had received fresh letters from his friends in England, assuring them that he should find them all in arms on his arrival at Preston. The chiefs represented, in strong terms, the danger of attempting to penetrate further into England with so small a force; and maintained that his most prudent course was to return to Scotland, fix his residence at Edinburgh, and carry on a defensive war in that country. Charles, however, insisted always on advancing into England, and the chiefs at length gave their consent.

It is determined to advance.

If the army of the insurgents was small, it was by no means insignificant. The cavalry consisted for the most part of the sons of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, animated by a strong sense of honour, and eager to risk their lives for a cause which revived the hereditary feelings of their bosoms, and combined somewhat of romantic gallantry with political and party motives; ancient victories were to be renewed, and recent defeats to be revenged. Some who had no attachment to the House of Stuart, were yet eager to vindicate the forfeited independence of Scotland. The cavalry was divided into two companies of life-guards, commanded by Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerino, and a third body of one

hundred and fifty gentlemen, led by Lord Pitsligo, whose character for judgment and caution, together with the esteem in which he was held, had induced many of his neighbours to join in this perilous enterprise. Of the infantry, nearly four thousand were highlanders, whose manner of fighting, joined to their incomparable courage, was calculated to surprise and overthrow the best disciplined troops. At the beginning of an engagement they advanced with rapidity, discharged their pieces when within musket-shot of their enemy, and then, throwing them down, drew their swords, and with a target on their left arm and a dirk in their left hand, darted with fury through the smoke, regardless of ball or bullets. When they reached the opposing force, bending one knee, they covered their bodies with their targets against the thrusts of the bayonets, while, at the same time, they raised their sword-arm, and struck their adversary. If by this means they once got within the bayonets, the order of regular troops was broken, and the highlander plying his sword with one arm and his dirk with the other, made dreadful carnage among a confused and routed enemy. The best troops in Europe could hardly withstand the first shock of this terrible attack. In the highland regiments, the clans were always compact, and they thus acted with that thorough reliance upon their companions, which, among regular troops, is only to be attained by repeated campaigns and an established reputation. The army thus composed, was directed, not as in 1715, by an intriguing politician, but by a chief whose

1745.

Manner of
fighting of
the high-
landers.

1745. courage and abilities inspired the highland soldiers with invincible ardour.*

Their progress,
Nov. 20.

The cavalry of the rebel army left Carlisle on the 20th of November, and marched that day to Penrith, a distance of twelve miles. On the 23d, the cavalry and infantry met at Kendal. On the two following days, they advanced by Lancaster towards Preston, where they arrived on the 26th, and rested during the 27th. On the 28th the army passed the night at Wigan, and on the 29th arrived at Manchester.

Arrive at
Manchester,
Nov. 29.

A circumstance which occurred here shewed that the zeal of the people of Manchester was not great, either for the House of Stuart or the House of Hanover. A young Scotch sergeant, quitting Preston before the army, with his mistress and a drummer, marched all night, and arrived at Manchester early in the morning: he immediately began to beat up for recruits for "the yellow-haired laddie." The populace at first, conceiving the rebel army to be near the town, did not interrupt him; but as soon as they knew it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. But the young sergeant, threatening to blow out the brains of the first who should lay hands on him, defended himself so well, that at length the partisans of the Stuarts, to the number of 500 or 600, flew to his assistance. He marched about the rest of the day undisturbed;

* Memoirs of the Rebellion, pp. 113, 114.

and when the rebel army entered the town, he presented to his commander a list of 180 recruits. These recruits formed the skeleton of a regiment called the Manchester regiment, which was placed under the command of Mr. Townley, formerly an officer in the service of France: it never exceeded in number 300 men.

1745.

The Duke of Cumberland commanded an army on which the defence of England principally rested: the different divisions lay at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyne. When the duke heard of the advance of the rebels, he took post at Stone, and awaited their arrival with the intention of giving battle. But the insurgents, not disposed to gratify him, left Manchester on the 1st of December, and marched to Macclesfield, where they separated: one division advanced by Congleton, the other by Ashbourne: both divisions arrived at Derby on the 4th.

At Derby,
Dec. 4.

Being now only 127 miles from London, and nearer to the capital than the Duke of Cumberland, the prince, in the afternoon of the 5th, held a council of war. The position of the insurgents was critical to the greatest degree. The Duke of Cumberland was only a few miles off, with a numerous and well-appointed body of troops. A courier, who had been despatched to London, brought intelligence that another army, said to consist of 30,000 men, but composed chiefly of militia, was encamped upon Finchley Common. Marshal Wade, with double the amount of the insurgents, was left in the rear. The question was, whether they should give battle to the Duke of Cumberland, with a hope of defeating him and

Council of
war.

1745. advancing to London, or whether they should return to Scotland. The prince argued eagerly for the former and the bolder course.

Other intelligence, however, besides that of the formation of the army at Finchley Common, was brought to the insurgents. In the course of the 5th, a messenger reached them, bearing despatches from Lord John Drummond, in which he informed the prince of his having landed at Montrose with his regiment of royal Scots, newly raised in France, and some picquets of the Irish brigade. He added, that he had a force of 3000 men, including the highlanders who had joined him; that before his departure from France the whole Irish brigade had embarked, besides several French regiments; and that there was every probability they would arrive in Scotland before his letter could reach the prince.

The highland chiefs who had entered upon the English expedition with reluctance, and had prosecuted it in despair, were wholly determined by this intelligence. They unanimously represented to the prince, that although they doubted not of being able to beat the Duke of Cumberland, they must expect some loss in the encounter; that they should then be obliged to fight a second battle on Finchley Common; and that, even supposing they reached London with scarcely any loss, 4000 or 5000 men would make but a small figure amid a million of souls. They had now traversed all the districts which had the reputation of being most attached to the House of Stuart; they had generally been received with symptoms of dislike; and as

yet no Englishman of distinction had declared himself on their side. They urged, therefore, the necessity of instantly returning to Scotland, where reinforcements of so much consequence awaited them. 1745.

The prince replied, that they were in greater danger of being cut to pieces in retreating to Scotland than in advancing; that the Duke of Cumberland would be constantly at their heels, while Marshal Wade would as certainly interpose between them and Scotland; so that they would be all caught, as it were, in a net.

To this argument the chiefs answered, that the highlanders being extremely active and hardy, could march twenty miles a day without leaving any stragglers, as they had already proved; whereas the Duke of Cumberland would not be able to advance along the bad roads they had to travel above twelve miles in a day. As for Marshal Wade, if they met his army, so much the better; for the glory acquired in defeating it would in some measure console the highlanders for the retreat. After several hours spent in debate, the prince finding all the general officers and chiefs of opinion that retreat was absolutely necessary, and that he was unable to persuade a single person to agree with him, at length yielded.*

* A Mr. John Hay, who acted for some time as secretary to the pretender, wrote an account of this affair, in which he attributes the blame of the retreat to Lord George Murray, and affirms that no council was held at Derby. But his story is entirely overthrown by the following answer of the prince himself to Mr. Home, who sent him queries to Rome:—

“ M. le Comte affirms, that the retreat of the army was in consequence of

1745. On the 6th of December the army began its march,
 The Retreat. some hours before day-break. At first, the highlanders, thinking they were on their way to attack the Duke of Cumberland, were in the highest spirits; but when the gray of the morning enabled them to discern the objects which they had passed in their advance, nothing was to be heard throughout the army but expressions of rage and lamentation. The chevalier himself, who, during the advance, had placed himself with the van-guard, and marched all the way on foot, now felt himself fatigued, and got on horseback. During the rest of the retreat he rose late from bed, remained in his carriage the whole day, and left the care of the rear-guard to Lord George Murray.

Consternation in London.

In the mean time the alarm in London during two days had been excessive. That a handful of highlanders, after beating an English army, and remaining two months undisturbed in Scotland, should have penetrated, without obstacle, into the heart of England, in spite of three times their number of regular troops, seemed so surprising, that men no longer weighed the remaining difficulties of the enterprise. To their terrified imaginations, London appeared already in the hands of the rebels, and King George hurled from his throne. The day on which

a council of war held in his presence, some time before the retreat took place, composed of the general officers and chiefs, and that all the members, except M. le Comte himself, were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and that M. le Comte endeavoured to persuade some of them to join with him, but could not prevail upon one single person."—*Hist. of the Rebellion. Appendix.*

1745.

the news was generally known in London, was afterwards called Black Friday.* Consternation sat in every countenance; the trading part of the city was overwhelmed with fear and dejection. It is said, that the Bank was only preserved from failing by placing numbers of agents of their own in the front of the clamourers for cash, and by paying in sixpences and shillings, which were soon brought back, every note that was presented to them. The intelligence caused no less surprise to the court than to the people. Lord Granville had laboured with no small success to persuade the king that the rebellion was an affair of no consequence; and the Duke of Newcastle, angry at being neglected, was not sorry to see the rebels gain some advantage, in order to confute his rival's assertions. But when the news from Derby arrived, he is said to have shut himself up in his house, and denied himself to every one; not that his loyalty abated, but he wanted a mind and heart equal to the crisis.

While London was still in alarm, the rebels were far on their march to Scotland. On the 6th they passed the night at Ashbourne; and, marching by the same route by which they had advanced, they arrived on the 11th at Preston, where they remained during the 12th. On the 13th they reached Lancaster, halted there the 14th, and on the 15th got to Kendal, where they received certain information that they had left Marshal Wade behind them. In order to ascertain more precisely his position, Lord

The insurgents continue their retreat.
Dec. 6-18.

* Lord Orford. Chevalier Johnstone, right in the main fact, calls it by mistake Black Monday.

1745. George took a detachment of life-guards, and went himself to reconnoitre: he returned in about two hours, with several prisoners. In the morning he said to the prince, when about to leave Kendal, "As your royal highness is always for battles, be the circumstances what they may, I now offer you one, in three hours from this time, with the army of Marshal Wade, which is only about two miles distant from us." The prince, making no reply, got into his carriage, and the army continued their retreat.*

Some ammunition-waggons having broken down, Lord George, with the artillery and the rear-guard, could only reach Shap on the night of the 17th, when the prince was already at Penrith. On the morning of the 18th, the rear-guard, having arrived at mid-day at the foot of an eminence, discovered cavalry, marching two-and-two abreast, at the top of the hill: they disappeared soon after, and at the same time there was heard a prodigious number of trumpets and kettle-drums. Mr. Brown, who was at the head of the column, thinking there was no safety but in boldness, persuaded the officers to rush upon the enemy sword in hand. The leading companies accordingly began running up the hill. Lord George, who was in the rear, ordered his highlanders to cross the enclosure which bounded the road, and ascend the hill from another quarter. When they arrived at the top, they were agreeably surprised to find, instead of the English army, only about 300 light horse, who immediately fled in disorder. The Duke of Cumberland had hoped, by this stratagem, to delay the march

* Chevalier Johnstone.

of the rear-guard, and then cut them off from the main body: 1745.

The duke himself, with about 2000 cavalry, and as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, was close at hand, and fell suddenly on the M'Donalds, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. The highlanders received the charge with the greatest firmness, repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the artillery and waggons had got a hundred paces in advance; then wheeling to the right, they ran with full speed till they joined the waggons, when they again stood to receive the cavalry. In this manner they marched about a mile. In the mean time, the prince, having received an account of the attack, sent two highland regiments to support the rear-guard. The adverse forces halted opposite the castle of Clifton Hall. Of the three highland regiments present, Glengary was behind a stone dyke on the right; Stewart of Appin in the centre; and Macpherson of Clunie on the left, lining a hedge. The Duke of Cumberland's dragoons, on the other hand, dismounted, and lined the opposite hedges. Daylight was now gone; the moon was sometimes overcast, and at other times shone bright. Lord George Murray, perceiving a body of men advancing from the enemy's side, ordered two of the regiments to advance. In advancing, Clunie's regiment received a very warm fire from the English dragoons who lined the hedge; but Lord George ordering them to attack sword in hand, they ran on, and jumping into the enclosures, forced the English to quit the ground: the highlanders pursued over three enclosures

Skirmish of
Clifton Hall,
Dec. 18.

1745. to a heath, and then returned to their former ground. In this affair the highlanders did not lose above twelve men; the loss of the English was much more considerable. Lord George Murray marched, without further molestation, to join the main body; and the whole army, on the morning of the 19th, arrived at Carlisle.

Retreat into
Scotland.
Dec. 20.

On the 20th, before break of day, they again quitted Carlisle, leaving Mr. Townley with the English regiment, and some companies of the regiment of the Duke of Perth, to defend the castle and town. This seems to have been a wanton sacrifice of devoted followers, who were thus abandoned, with scarcely a hope of deliverance. On the same day the highland army crossed the river Eske, and, marching in two divisions, arrived on the 25th and 26th at Glasgow.

Arrive at
Glasgow,
Dec. 25, 26.

The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle on the 21st; but being under the necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the batteries did not commence firing till the morning of the 28th. On the 30th the garrison surrendered.

In this whole march and retreat, the highland army did not lose above forty men. No disciplined army could have done so much with so trifling a loss.

Thus ended the expedition into England. It served to shew to the young pretender and to the world how little the English people were disposed to favour his cause. Upon the first news of his landing, indeed, there was a visible apathy; observers said, that the nation evidently meant to remain neutral in the struggle. But when he actually invaded England, not merely was there no party ready to fly to his assistance, but the country

1745.

through which he passed gave manifest signs of their dislike. The villages were deserted; and the few stragglers that fell behind were killed or taken by the country people. The lineal heir of the English crown was manifestly regarded in no other light than as a foreign invader, at the head of a barbarous host. Ridiculous stories of the ferocity of the highlanders, such as that they ate children, and other similar tales, added indeed to the horror felt at their approach; but it was likewise clear that the voice of England was against the claimant to her throne. The son of Mr. Ratcliffe, who was taken prisoner at sea, being mistaken for the younger son of the pretender, was nearly torn to pieces by the mob. Thirty years of tranquil and free government had accustomed the mass of the nation to obey the House of Hanover, and to look upon the descendant of their ancient kings as nothing else than an emissary of Rome and France. The fact says much for the government of the first two princes of the House of Hanover.

Yet still it was possible for Charles to maintain for a time a footing in Scotland; and had the expectations held out by Lord John Drummond been fulfilled, the whole force of England would have been required to expel him from that kingdom. But France was far from intending an effective aid to the prince, whom she had sent on this forlorn enterprise. It was said, indeed, that a large force was preparing for that purpose, to be placed under the command of the Duke of Richelieu. But Richelieu in vain urged the policy of striking this vital blow at the national enemy; Marshal Noailles

1745. and d'Argenson thwarted and finally prevented so hazardous an expedition.

Rebel forces
at Perth.

The clans that had assembled after Charles left Edinburgh, together with the troops which had come from France, were collected at Perth, to the number of 4000 men. The rebels under the command of the prince remained at Glasgow till the 2d of January, when they marched in two columns, and, after pointing in the direction of Edinburgh, turned towards Stirling, and arrived on the 3d at Bannockburn, within four miles of that town. Here they were joined by the troops from Perth under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond, who styled himself commander-in-chief of the troops of the King of France. The army now amounted to 8 or 9000 men, of excellent troops.

1746.
The chevalier
at Bannock-
burn,
Jan. 3.

General
Hawley.

On the other hand, news had reached Edinburgh, that all the infantry regiments, lately under the command of General Wade, with some part of the Duke of Cumberland's army, would shortly arrive at that capital, and would be placed under the command of General Hawley. This officer had a great reputation with a large part of the world for what is called vigour and decision of character. He had displayed this quality chiefly by punishing with the utmost promptitude a spy taken in his camp, and such of his own soldiers as transgressed the rules of military discipline. This severity got him the name of Chief Justice Hawley. He had been major of dragoons at the battle of Sheriff-Muir; and having there witnessed the effect of an unexpected charge of cavalry, had founded on this single experience a general maxim. When the news of the battle

of Preston-Pans arrived in Flanders, where he was then quartered, he had said in a company of officers, "that he knew the highlanders; they were good militia; but he was certain they could not stand against a charge of dragoons, who attacked them well." Such was the man from whom England fondly expected her deliverance, until his vaunted vigour and skill proved to be nothing more than an arrogant hardness of character, and a contracted dogmatism of mind. 1746.

On the 6th of January the rebels opened the trenches before the town of Stirling, which surrendered the next day. The castle, however, held out: General Blakeney, the commander, in answer to a summons replied; "That his royal highness would assuredly have a very bad opinion of him, were he capable of surrendering the castle in such a cowardly manner." A French engineer directed the siege, but so ill, that he opened the trenches in a place where there were not fifteen inches of ground above the rock: this error caused a great loss of men to the highlanders. Siege of Stirling. Jan. 6.

General Hawley had now under his command, besides cavalry, twelve regiments of foot, most of which had served on the continent. Thinking this force sufficient to destroy the rebels, he quitted Edinburgh, and on the 16th encamped in a field on the west side of Falkirk, only nine miles from Bannockburn. On the same evening, the prince gave orders for a review of the whole army the next morning at break of day. No one suspected his intention. After the review, it being then about ten o'clock in the morning, he made the army face to the right, and form a Battle of Falkirk. Jan. 17.

1746. column of march. The highlanders, who usually formed in line three deep, marched in column with three in front. In this manner they advanced through bye roads, and across the fields to Dunipace, which is about three miles and a half from Falkirk.

The royal troops were joined on the morning of the 17th by Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and 1000 Argyleshire highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyle. The space between the two armies was the ancient site of the Torwood, once a great forest, but at that time partly destroyed: the high road from Stirling to Falkirk passes through what was once the middle of the wood. About eleven o'clock in the day a body of the rebels, both horse and foot, were seen from the royal camp moving upon this road. A little before one, two officers of the third regiment of foot climbed a tree, and, fixing a telescope, plainly perceived the highland army advancing towards Falkirk. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to General Hawley, who remained at Callender House: he observed, that the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. While he was giving these wise directions, the news spread among the royal officers that the highlanders were about to cross the Carron, and were evidently pointing to some high ground, called Falkirk Muir, which lay to the left of the king's army. The officers, in some alarm, said to one another, "Where is the general? what is to be done? we have no orders." In the mean time the regiments were formed upon the ground in front of the camp: presently, General Hawley arriving,

1746.

ordered three regiments of dragoons to take instant possession of the high ground of the Muir, and the infantry to follow. At the moment the infantry began to march, the day became overcast, and before they could ascend the hill, a storm of great violence beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who could not keep their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get soonest to the top of the hill. The Macdonald highlanders were the first of the rebel army who reached the ground; they took the right of the line: the rest of the insurgent forces presently formed in order of battle in two lines; the chevalier himself with some pickets of cavalry in the rear of the second line. The storm, which drove in the face of the English, was on the back of the rebels. The royal army likewise formed in two lines; the dragoons in front, facing the right and centre of the highlanders. The highlanders of the right far outflanked the left of the infantry of the royal army: on the other hand, the infantry of the right of the king's army extended beyond the highlanders opposed to them. There was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the king's army from the left of the rebels. It is evident that all the advantage of position lay with the highlanders; the only part of the ground on which the battle could be fought, being the part where they were strongest.

The infantry of the king's army were not yet completely formed, when General Hawley ordered Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels. Colonel

1746. Ligonier charged with three regiments of dragoons. Lord George Murray, who was advancing at the head of the Keppoch highlanders, let the cavalry come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The fire ran down the whole right of the line. Many of the cavalry fell, and a part turned directly back. Some, however, trotted on to the highland line, and attempted to break it. A desperate struggle ensued. The highlanders threw themselves on the ground, and stabbed the horses. For some minutes all was confusion. But the activity of the highlanders giving them the superiority, such of the cavalry as had not been brought to the ground, wheeled round, and passed between the line of the two armies. When they were gone, Lord George ordered the Macdonalds to keep their ranks, and stand firm. But the highlanders on his left immediately pursued. When they came near the infantry of the king's army, some regiments fired; the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their muskets, attacked the king's troops sword in hand, both in front and flank: all the English regiments of the front line, and most of those of the second line, gave way and retired down the hill. For some time it seemed a total rout. But an English regiment, with part of two others, standing firm, fired upon the flank of the highlanders from a hollow at the bottom of the hill. An officer in the French service, of the name of Stuart, immediately called out, Stop! The word flew from rank to rank, and threw the whole army into disorder. At this moment the field of battle presented a curious spectacle. Nearly all the king's army was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army,

uncertain of the event, was flying to the westward. The clans were mixed pell-mell together, and no one knew where to look for a commander.

1746.

In the midst of this confusion, the prince collected together as many of the highlanders as he could assemble, commended their valour, and led them on to the brow of the hill. Upon his approach, some English cavalry, which remained on the field with the infantry that had checked the pursuit, retreated in good order to the camp. The attack had begun at four o'clock in the afternoon; it was now dusk. General Hawley gave orders to set fire to the tents, and leaving behind him his provisions, ammunition, and baggage, retired through Falkirk towards Linlithgow.

The highlanders were not at first aware of the victory they had gained; but Lord Kilmarnock, who had estates in the neighbourhood, having been sent to reconnoitre, approached through the fields the high road to Edinburgh, and there saw the English flying in great disorder. He immediately returned to the prince, who, at seven o'clock, was still on the field of battle; the storm had not yet abated. When informed of the certain retreat of the English, he descended to Falkirk, where he remained for the night.

The loss of the English army was about 20 officers and 400 men killed, with a due proportion of wounded, and some 4 or 500 prisoners. The highlanders had about 40 killed and 80 wounded. The battle was fought without artillery; but seven field-pieces belonging to the English,

Loss of the
English.

1746.

which had stuck fast on the hill, were abandoned in their retreat.*

It is evident that the loss of this battle is chiefly to be attributed to the presumption of General Hawley. He was not prepared for action; he allowed the advantage of position to be taken from him, and he seems to have had but one notion in his head, namely, that of charging a line of 8000 good infantry with 800 dragoons. Had he remained in his camp, it is doubtful whether he could have been attacked with success. The highlanders, on their side, fought with courage, but without method or skill. After the battle, there was much recrimination between Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond.

They reach
Edinburgh.

The tempest raged with such violence during the whole of the next day, that the highlanders did not quit their quarters. Hence the English suffered no loss between Falkirk and Edinburgh. The news of the battle reached Edinburgh by nine o'clock at night of the day on which it was fought: the army itself marched in at four on the following afternoon. The consternation and alarm were very great. So sudden a reverse dispirited the most sanguine. "Nor were these," it was said, "the raw levies of General Cope; they were the veterans of Dettingen and Fontenoy."

It was clearly the policy of the chevalier to pursue his broken enemy with all possible speed, and seek every occasion of fighting another battle. The commander of

* Home. Chev. Johnstone.

a small body of troops against large armies has little chance of success but in continual action in the field. Prince Charles, however, instead of improving his success, returned on the 19th to continue the siege of Stirling Castle, a service for which the highland troops were peculiarly unfit. In this step, it is said that he was guided by the advice of M. Mirabelle, the French engineer, who promised to reduce the fort in the course of forty-eight hours.

1746.
Siege of
Stirling
resumed.

A few days, however, proved the absurdity of the resolution that had been taken. The trenches, in the situation which has been before mentioned, afforded no covering to the men; and some of the troops, especially the Irish pickets, suffered considerable loss. In the meantime, many of the highlanders, tired of the delays, and glad to retire from such a service, daily abandoned their colours, and went home. It was the observation of a caustic volunteer in the rising of 1715, that the highlanders, if beaten, would run away and go home; if victorious, would plunder and go home; if kept in inaction, would tire and go home. The two latter of these cases had now happened, and the result proved the correctness of the observation. On the 28th of January, Lord George Murray shewed Charles the plan of a battle then in contemplation. In the morning of the 29th his aid-de-camp came to Bannockburn, with a paper signed by him, and all the chiefs who were with him at Falkirk. In this paper they represented that a vast number of the soldiers were gone home since the battle; that, notwithstanding the endeavours of all the commanders of the different corps, this evil increased

1746. hourly, which it was not in their power to prevent ; that if the enemy should march before the surrender of Stirling Castle, the inequality of their numbers would expose them to utter destruction. For these reasons, they thought it absolutely necessary to retire immediately to the highlands, and employ the rest of the winter in mastering the forts of the north. They even proposed to throw some of the heavy cannon into the Forth, rather than risk the safety of the army, which must be exposed, if this retreat were not begun without the loss of a single moment. "It is but just now," they added, "we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight."

Jan. 30. On the following day the French engineer unmasked his battery, although only three embrasures of the six of which it was to have been composed were finished. But as the fire of the castle commanded the battery, the guns of the assailants were immediately dismounted, and in less than half an hour the battery was altogether abandoned. General Blakeney, with much prudence and coolness, had allowed the enemy to construct their work without disturbance, well knowing that he could destroy it whenever he pleased.

Duke of
Cumberland
at Edin-
burgh.

At three o'clock in the morning of the same day, the Duke of Cumberland arrived at the palace of Holyrood House. During the course of that day he inspected the army, which, since the battle, had been reinforced by the arrival of two regiments of foot; and, having raised their spirits by his presence and confidence, gave orders to march the next morning against the enemy. His force

consisted of fourteen battalions of foot, with two regiments of dragoons, besides a thousand Ayrshire highlanders. Thus the royal army was stronger than before their late defeat, while the victorious troops were diminished from nine to five thousand. 1746.

On the 31st of January the Duke arrived at Linlithgow. Early the next morning he received intelligence that Lord George Murray had retreated from Falkirk to the Torwood. As he advanced, the scouts sent in word that the whole rebel army was going off to the westward; soon after, two great explosions were heard. Information was now brought that the rebels, after spiking their heavy cannon, had crossed the river Forth, at the ford of the Frew. The explosion was caused by fifty barrels of powder, placed in the church of St. Minians, which blew up either by accident or design. The rebel army, after leaving Stirling, passed the night at Crieff. Here they separated into two columns, one of which, conducted by Lord George Murray, took the road along the sea-coast, through the towns of Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Peterhead: the other column, with the prince at its head, went straight across the mountains, by Blair in Athol, which is the shortest road to Inverness. They were not followed by the Duke of Cumberland. On the 16th the prince slept at Moy, a castle belonging to the chiefs of the clan of Mackintosh, about eleven miles from Inverness. Lord Loudon, who was posted at Inverness with his own regiment, and some independent companies, hearing that Charles had very few men about him, formed a project of surprising and taking him prisoner. But Retreat of the insurgents. Feb. 1. Attempt to surprise the chevalier.

1746. this design somehow reaching the prince, he escaped to the neighbouring mountains, where he passed the night in concealment. As soon as the alarm was spread in the village of Moy, however, a blacksmith proposed and executed a project for defeating the attempt of the royalists. He assembled a dozen of his companions, and, going a little way along the road, posted six of his men on each side of the highway, enjoining them not to fire together, but one after another. When the head of the detachment of Lord Loudon arrived at the part of the road opposite the twelve men, the blacksmith ordered his companions to fire; and, running here and there, called on the well-known names of Keppoch and Cameron, bidding them advance on the right and left. The king's troops thinking they had been discovered, and the whole rebel army close to them, instantly turned, and fled in the greatest disorder to Inverness: several were trampled upon by their comrades in the rout and confusion of the flight.

The rebels
take Inver-
ness.
Feb.

On the next day Charles gave orders to assemble his army, for the purpose of marching to Inverness. Lord Loudon, at the approach of forces much superior in number, left the town and retreated to Ross-shire. The rebels laid siege to the castle of Inverness, which surrendered in two days; they then laid siege to Fort Augustus, which was likewise taken in a few days.

Enterprise of
Lord George
Murray.

The end of February and the whole month of March were spent in desultory actions, of which it is not necessary to give a particular account. One expedition, however, conducted by Lord George Murray, deserves to be mentioned. He formed a design of beating up the quarters

1746.

of the king's troops in Athol. Taking with him 700 men, he marched with them in a body till he came near the quarters of the king's troops, and then divided them into a great many parties, each of which was to attack a separate post. Lord George repaired himself, with a few men, to the bridge of Breuer, which was appointed the place of rendezvous. He was at this spot with only thirty men, when he received news that Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who it was that had attacked his posts. Some of those who were with Lord George advised that they should retreat, and make the best of their way back: but when they had all spoken, he said, "If I quit my post, all the parties I have sent out, as they come in, will fall into the hands of the enemy." Seeing a fold for cattle at a short distance, he drew up the few men he had behind the enclosure, and displaying the banners of two regiments, ordered his piper to sound the loudest pibroch as soon as the royal troops should come in sight. Sir Andrew Agnew, alarmed at this appearance of force, withdrew his men, and left Lord George to enjoy his victory. His detachments, which now poured rapidly in, had been completely successful. A small force was left to besiege the castle of the Duke of Athol, at Blair, which alone held out.

The Prince of Hesse had arrived at Leith with 5000 Hessians on the 8th of February. He was now quartered at Perth, and sent a detachment to reconnoitre the force which besieged the garrison of Blair; but the highlanders charging them killed five or six, and took a lieutenant prisoner. This officer was sent back by Lord George to

Prince of
Hesse.
Feb.

1746. the Prince of Hesse, to propose a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; adding, that if his proposal were not accepted, all the Hessians who fell into the hands of the highlanders would be put to the sword. The prince communicated the proposal to the Duke of Cumberland, who replied that he never would hear of a cartel with rebels; upon which the Prince of Hesse declared he would not sacrifice his countrymen in a combat with men driven to despair.

The highland army, always in motion, and making war in a country where subsistence was difficult, found themselves embarrassed by the number of their English prisoners. A Mr. Peter Smith proposed to cut off the thumbs of the right hands of the soldiers, to make them incapable of holding a musket, and then dismiss them. But the prince rejected this, and proposals yet more cruel, which were suggested by some who wished to retaliate on the English the punishment they inflicted upon men found in arms against the king. A number of officers were allowed their liberty, on giving their parole not to serve against the prince for the space of eighteen months. But the Duke of Cumberland, before he left Edinburgh, had written circular letters to his officers, declaring they were not bound by a parole given to rebels, and threatening them, that if they did not join their regiments, he would dispose of their commissions. Of all who gave their parole, Sir Peter Halket and Mr. Ross, with two others, were the only four who had the courage and honesty to answer the Duke of Cumberland, "that he was master of their commissions, but not of their probity and honour." George

Parole given
to the rebels.

the Second is said to have approved of their conduct; but whether they were allowed to keep their commissions, we are not informed. 1746.

The month of March was now almost over, and as the cold wind of the spring, which dries more than the heat of summer, had blown for some time, and had made the rivers fordable, it was expected that the Duke of Cumberland would soon commence his operations. In this expectation, the chevalier ordered all his detachments to Inverness: the siege of Fort William, and that of the castle of Blair were abandoned, and the rebel army concentrated. The Duke of Cumberland, on his side, intending to march by the coast road, gave orders for a number of transports, with a convoy of several ships of war, to attend his army in their march. Preparations on both sides.

The army assembled under the command of the Duke of Cumberland consisted of between 8 and 9000 men. On the 8th of April he left Aberdeen with the last division: the whole army assembled at Cullen, twelve miles from the river Spey. The prince detached a part of his army, under Lord John Drummond, to dispute the passage of the river; but the weather being windy and dry, this was not found practicable. The English army advanced in three divisions, the largest of which crossed the river at the ford near Gormach; the next division, at the ford by Gordon Castle; and the division on the right, at a ford near the church of Belly. Lord John Drummond remained at Elgin with the infantry under his command, without taking any steps to oppose the passage of the Spey: Lord Elcho alone appeared at the ford, at the head of what were called the life-guards, March of the royal army. April 8. April 12.

1746. and exchanged a few shots with the English while they were in the river.

The chevalier
leaves
Inverness.

April 15.

The intelligence that the Duke of Cumberland had crossed the Spey without opposition, and was advancing against Inverness, came upon the rebel army like a clap of thunder. They had suffered for some time from want of provisions, and as the military chest was nearly empty, Charles had allowed nearly half the highlanders to go home, confident that he could rely upon their returning when summoned: some of them were expected every hour to join the army, others were still at a distance. In this state the rebels left Inverness to occupy a position at Cul-loden, at the distance of three miles from that town: the highlanders slept on the bare ground, without tents, or any shelter from the weather, and with no other nourishment than biscuits and water. The prince declared, that if he had only a thousand men, he would attack the king's forces. On the 15th, Lord George Murray, seconded by all the chiefs who were present at the quarters of the prince, advised that they should retire to a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, where a position had been surveyed by Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr. If the Duke of Cumberland should attack them there, they should be able to fight at advantage; or if no opportunity offered of coming to action, they could retire further, and draw him up to the mountains, where they might fall upon him at some pass or strong ground. The prince, however, rejected this proposal, and seemed determined to await the enemy in the plain. Upon this, it was proposed to march in the night to attack the duke in his camp at

1746.

Nairn, it being supposed, that the 15th being the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, the English army would be intoxicated, and might be taken by surprise. This plan was agreed to: Lord George Murray, however, said that the night attack was only advisable if it could be made before two in the morning, in which case alone any hopes of success could reasonably be entertained. Between six and seven in the evening, a little before the march was to begin, a great number of the soldiers went off to Inverness, and places adjacent, to procure provisions. Officers were sent from every regiment to bring the men back, but they refused to come, bidding the officers shoot them if they pleased, but they would not come back till they had got some food. Upon this, all the chiefs declared themselves in the strongest terms for laying aside the resolution of surprising the enemy; but although it was by that time eight o'clock, the prince continued bent on the project, and gave orders to march. The army marched in two columns, of which Lord George Murray commanded the foremost. The plan of the night attack had been well and skilfully made: but a long march across the country in a dark night, with the necessity of avoiding the houses on the road, whence an alarm might be given, was necessarily slow, fatiguing, and disorderly. When Lord George arrived within four miles of Nairn, opposite to the house of Kilravock, it was found by all the watches that it was two o'clock in the morning. It was manifest that they should have to march the two last miles after day-break, within sight of the enemy. Under these circumstances, Lord George and most of the officers agreed it would be

Nightmarch.

1746. better to retreat before they were discovered. While they were consulting, Mr. O'Sullivan came from the prince, with a message that he would be glad to have the attack made, but as Lord George was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Lord George said it was a free parliament, and desired every one to give his opinion. Mr. Hepburn alone maintained that the attack might be made with good hopes of success, even if it were day-light. The rest agreed that it was best to return to Culloden, to get rest and refreshment. Upon this, Lord George immediately gave his orders, and the army marched back as speedily as possible to their former quarters. The account given by the chevalier himself, only differs from the foregoing, inasmuch as he states, that he himself went to the van, and was convinced by the reasons given by Lord George. Other accounts blame Lord George for retreating without orders. John Hay, who was private secretary to the prince, says, that when Charles was informed of the order to retreat, he was extremely incensed, and said Lord George had betrayed him. If he did so, it is but a proof of his weakness and inconsistency.*

The whole army did not arrive at Culloden till near seven in the morning. Exhausted and harassed with the fruitless fatigue they had undergone, they repaired to their several quarters for rest and refreshment. But they were scarcely asleep before an alarm was given, and the troops were called to arms.

* Johnstone. Home.

The Duke of Cumberland had accurate intelligence of the movements, although not of the designs, of the rebels. He was informed of the night-march: a spy of his had mingled with the highlanders, and accompanied them to Kilravock. But supposing that they came only to take a position nearer to his, and having the Argyllshire highlanders in his front, he ordered the men to lie down with their arms by them, and take some rest. At day-break the army was formed, and about five o'clock began their march towards Inverness, the infantry in three columns, with the cavalry in front and rear.

1746.

About eight o'clock, a lieutenant in Lochiel's regiment came to Culloden House, where Charles was quartered, and informed him that he had seen the duke's army, in full march towards them. Orders were immediately given to recall the men who had gone to Inverness, and to form the regiments on a part of Drum Mossie Muir, where they had been drawn up the day before. O'Sullivan, who acted both as adjutant and quarter-master general, made the disposition, and formed the army in two lines, with a body of reserve. He placed the Athol brigade on the right; Lochiel, Appin, Fraser, Macintosh, Maclauchlans, Macleans, and John Roy Stewart's regiment, occupied the centre; the three Macdonald regiments, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, the left. The Macdonalds deeply resented their not having the right, a privilege belonging to them, they affirmed, from the time of the battle of Bannockburn, on which glorious day, Robert de Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles. The prince remained on an eminence behind the two lines.

Battle of
Culloden,
April 16.

1746.

The king's army was likewise drawn up in two lines, with a reserve; the first and second lines consisted each of six regiments of foot, and the reserve of three. The Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, and one squadron of Lord Cobham's dragoons, were placed on the right of the first line; a regiment of dragoons, and two squadrons of Lord Cobham's, on the left. When the king's army came within 5 or 600 paces of the insurgents, they found part of the ground in their front so soft and boggy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk, and were obliged to be taken off; the soldiers, throwing down their fire-locks, dragged the cannon across the bog: two field-pieces were placed in the intervals between the battalions. The artillery now began to fire, and did great execution. The duke having observed that the position of the highlanders was strong, hoped by this means to draw them from their ground, and induce them to come down and attack his army. During the interval, he made some changes in his disposition. A regiment of infantry, which stood on the left of the second line, was brought up to the left of the first line, where they wheeled to the right, and formed *en potence*, so as to fire on the flank of the rebels if they should attack: he likewise ordered up two regiments from the reserve. Having made these dispositions, he placed himself between the first and second lines.

About two o'clock, the highlanders, as he had foreseen, impatient of the fire of artillery, commenced the attack without orders. The Macintosh regiment breaking out from the centre, joined by all the regiments of the right, descended with great rapidity into the marshy ground,

1746.

and charged the enemy sword in hand. Notwithstanding a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry, they broke through two of the English regiments in the first line, and pushed on to the second. In this attack, Lord Robert Ker, a young officer much admired for his person, was killed at the head of his company of grenadiers, with many wounds. In the second line, Sempill's regiment, the front rank kneeling and presenting, waited firmly the attack of the highlanders. When they came very near, this regiment received them with so terrible a fire that great numbers fell, and nearly all the rest turned back: a few still pressed on, and received their death at the end of the soldiers' bayonets. While this was going on in the English line, General Bland, who commanded the cavalry on the left, employed the clan of the Campbells to break down the east wall of an enclosure on the right of the rebel army. When the wall was pulled down, the dragoons entered, and driving away about a hundred men who had been posted there, got on the flank and in the rear of the rebels. By this time the highlanders, repulsed in the centre, and their right overpowered by a destructive fire in front and flank, were giving way, and flying in confusion. Macdonald of Keppoch, who was on the left, within twenty paces of the English line, advanced sword in hand to charge, but was not followed by his men. He had got but a little way from his regiment when he was wounded by a musket-shot, and fell; a friend, who had followed, conjured him not to throw away his life, and said that the wound was not mortal. Keppoch desired him to take care

1746.

of himself: going on, he received another shot, and fell to rise no more. The Macdonalds retired without an effort. Not having been stationed on the right, they thought themselves entitled to misbehave on the left.

The king's army did not immediately pursue; the line of infantry from right to left were ordered to remain on the ground and dress their ranks. The horse on the right began the pursuit; General Bland's cavalry, which were on the left, and in the rear of the rebels, were likewise ready to take advantage of the victory. The left of the highlanders fled towards Inverness, and being pursued by the cavalry, the road from Culloden to that town was every where strewn with dead bodies; the right wing, on the contrary, preserved so menacing an appearance, that the English commander opened the way for them, and allowed them to pass at the distance of a pistol-shot, without attempting to molest them. An English officer advanced a few paces to seize a highlander who was passing, but the highlander brought him down with his sword, and killed him on the spot. Not satisfied with this, he stopped long enough to take possession of the officer's watch, the English commander remaining a quiet spectator of the scene.

The rebel army was all in full retreat, when the Duke of Cumberland ordered the infantry to advance. In marching on towards Inverness, he was met by a drummer with a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender, and asking quarter. The duke made Sir Joseph Yorke alight from his horse, and with his pencil write a note

to Brigadier Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter and honourable treatment: Inverness was taken possession of the same day by a company of grenadiers.

1746.

Other accounts represent the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, after the battle, to have been extremely cruel and unfeeling. They pretend that he allowed the wounded of the enemy to remain on the field of battle, stripped of their clothes, from Wednesday till Friday, when he sent detachments to kill all who were still alive; nay, more—that he ordered a barn which contained many of the wounded highlanders to be set on fire, and stationed soldiers round it, who with fixed bayonets drove back into the flames the unfortunate men who attempted to save themselves.* These relations, no doubt, are tinged by the hatreds of those who have recorded them; but it is too true, that after the battle the duke issued orders to the army, in which he informed them that the rebels had intended to give no quarter.† This hint, unaccompanied by any injunction to mercy, gave a loose to the passions of individuals, sanctioned the cruelty and rapine to which an army is always too prone, and probably caused the slaughter of many of the wounded. To have so abused the hour of victory is a stain upon the character of the duke, as a soldier and a man.

Cruelty of
the royalists.

The number of troops in the action were about 8000

* Chev. Johnstone.

† This fact is related in a history of the rebellion published at the time. It has been lately put beyond doubt by the publication of extracts from an orderly book of one of the English regiments.

1746. on the part of the English, besides a thousand volunteers and highlanders: the number of the rebels did not exceed 5000. The highlanders, besides, were fatigued by their night-march, and dispirited from want of food. No wonder that, in spite of their courage, they failed in gaining a victory over an army far superior in number, and commanded by a general who took every precaution to avoid the unfavourable chances of war. The loss of the royal army, as stated by authority, amounted only to 310 killed and wounded: the loss of the rebels was about 1000. It may be remarked, that the three battles fought during this insurrection were all decided by the first onset. The attack of the highlanders was terrible; but if they failed in breaking their enemy's line, they had not discipline sufficient to restore the fortune of the day. Each clan followed its own chief, but obeyed no general orders on a day of battle.

Conduct of
Charles.

The prince, after leaving the field, crossed the river of Nairn, at a ford called Falie, where he dismissed two troops of horse which had accompanied him, desiring them to go to Ruthven, where they should receive further orders. He proceeded himself, with very few persons, chiefly Irish, to Gorthleek, where he met Lord Lovat; and going on all night, arrived next morning at Invergarie, in the neighbourhood of Fort Augustus.

April 18.

Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, the Marquess of Tullybardine, Lord Ogilvy, and many chiefs of clans, assembled, as it were, by common consent, on the 18th, at Ruthven. This little town

is about twenty-five miles from Inverness; it can only be approached by a very narrow road, through the mountains, skirted by tremendously high precipices, where, at several passes, a few men might defend themselves against an army. Here the highlanders assembled, full of ardour, and not at all dispirited by their late defeat. In this state of affairs Lord George sent off Mr. Macleod, his aide-de-camp, to represent to the prince, that great numbers of their men who had been absent at the late action would assemble at Ruthven in the course of a few days; that many of the highland clans that had hitherto remained neuter would now join them, to save their country from destruction by the Duke of Cumberland; and that, in a few days, instead of 5 or 6000 men, he might count upon 8 or 9000. He therefore earnestly entreated the prince to come immediately, and put himself at the head of this force.

1746.

These exhortations, however, were insufficient to encourage the prince to further contest. He sent back word by Mr. Macleod, that he thanked his friends for the services they had performed, but that he renounced the enterprise, and advised every man to seek his safety in the best way he could. Upon receiving this melancholy answer, every thought of further resistance seems to have been abandoned: while the leaders took leave of each other with the feeling that they might never meet again, the highlanders, by wild howlings and manly tears, testified their grief that the cause which they identified with the independence of their country, was to be abandoned.

Dispersion of
the rebels.

Charles himself took leave of all his followers at Inver-

1746.
Flight and
hardships of
Charles.

garie, with the exception of Sullivan, O'Neil, and a servant named Burke. With these he directed his course towards Long Island, where he hoped to find a vessel to convey him to France. Embarking at Lochnanuagh in his way thither, he encountered a severe storm, and with difficulty reaching the land, he and his companions were forced to remain two days in a miserable hut, where they had nothing to subsist upon but oatmeal and water. For several days he was tossed about from one island to the other, suffering the greatest hardships, and exposed to the most imminent perils. Two French frigates came to Lochnanuagh the day after he left it: these ships he afterwards saw at a distance, and wished to go to them; but those with him thought they were English, and the boatmen could not be prevailed upon to approach them. Charles continuing his voyage, had like to have been taken by a sloop of war, but escaped by landing on North Uist. There he remained till the middle of May, when he went to South Uist, and was lodged in a house belonging to Clanronald for three weeks.

In the course of time the departure of Charles from Lochnanuagh was known in the royal army. General Campbell was sent in that direction with the command of a body of troops, which, divided into detachments, scoured and searched all the islands where the chevalier might be concealed. Long Island was soon surrounded by frigates and sloops of war; from 1500 to 2000 men traversed it in every direction; no one was permitted to leave the island without a passport. In this perilous state, Charles remained from the first week of June till the last;

informed by the islanders of every movement of the troops, he frequently passed and repassed in the night,—a single mistake, or the smallest imprudence of his partisans, would have been fatal to him. 1746.

A young lady of the name of Flora Macdonald happened to be on a visit at the house of Clanronald, to whose family she was related. Hearing Colonel O'Neill speak of the distress of the prince, she expressed the most earnest desire to see him, and said, that if she could be in any degree serviceable in saving him from his enemies, she would with all her heart. Colonel O'Neill said, she could be of the greatest service, if she would take him to Skye, disguised as her maid. Miss Macdonald at first thought the proposition so fantastical and dangerous, that she positively declined it. Soon after this conversation, however, O'Neill introduced the prince to Miss Macdonald, at a farm belonging to her brother. "The prince," to use her own words, "at this time was in a state of bad health, of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly exhausted with fatigue and want of proper accommodation. Under these calamities he possessed a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, remarkably great, and incredible to all but such as then saw him." Miss Macdonald, in fine, was so strongly impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that she consented to conduct him to Skye. Flora Macdonald.

In pursuance of this resolution, she procured a passport from her father-in-law, Captain Macdonald, who commanded the Macdonald militia in South Ulst. In the passport, the prince was denominated Betty Burke, and recom-

1746. mended by Captain Macdonald to his wife in Skye, as an excellent spinster of flax, and a faithful servant. Miss Macdonald then procured an open boat, with six hands, and appointed the prince to meet her on the shore. The lady of Clanronald accompanied her to the shore, where they met Charles in woman's clothes, attended by Colonel O'Neill. They were at supper together by the sea-side, when a messenger came to acquaint the lady of Clanronald that General Campbell and Captain Fergusson were in her house, in quest of Charles. Upon this notice she immediately returned home. Soon after her departure, four armed cutters appeared upon the coast, so close to the shore that it was impossible to get away unobserved; the fugitives, therefore, skulked among the rocks till the cutters passed them. The day following being calm and serene, the prince and Miss Macdonald set out in the morning for Skye. As the boat was passing the point of Vaternish, in Skye, a party of the Macleod militia ran to the shore, and levelled their guns at the boat; but the tide being out, the boat was out of their reach before the soldiers could get sufficiently near to fire into it. The chevalier was landed at the family seat of Macdonald. Miss Macdonald dined with Lady Margaret Macdonald; and after dinner, she and the prince (still disguised as her maid) set out for Kingsburgh, where they arrived in the evening, and lodged that night. Next day the prince went to a hill, near the house of Kingsburgh, and put on a highland dress. Miss Macdonald accompanied him to Portree: he had then greatly recovered his strength, and was in good

spirits. His female guide now left him, and retired to her step-father's house at Armadale. 1746.

Charles went to the Isle of Rasay, where indeed there were no troops, but the houses had been burnt, and the cattle carried off, so that the prince was obliged to live in a cow-house. Charles, weary with the wretchedness of this life, returned to Skye, and on the 5th of July landed on the main land from Loch Nevis. Loch Nevis was surrounded by troops, and the officer who commanded them, hearing that Charles had landed, formed a chain of posts to shut him in. The sentinels were posted so near each other, that in the day time no one could pass them without being seen: at night, fires were lighted at every post, and the soldiers crossed from one to the other. Charles, conducted by two of the Macdonalds, crept up the channel of a dry brook, and watching the moment when the sentinels had their backs turned to each other, passed between two posts. His guide resolved to conduct him to the Mackenzies of Ross-shire, who having remained faithful to the House of Hanover, had not been visited by troops. When the fugitives came to the braes of Kintail, they were obliged to put up for the night at the house of one Christopher Macraw. Fortunately the name of the prince was concealed. In the course of the evening's conversation, Macraw exclaimed against the highlanders who had taken part with Charles; said that those who still protected him were fools and madmen, and that they ought to deliver themselves and their country from distress by giving him up for the reward which government had offered. That same night a Macdonald, who had been in

Charles
returns to
the main
land.

1746. the rebel army, came to Macraw's house; he knew Charles at first sight, and warned Glenaladale against revealing his name to their host. Glenaladale asking his advice as to where they had best take him, the highlander answered, that in the most remote part of the great hill Corado, where he had passed the former night, there lived seven men, upon whose fidelity the prince might securely depend. Glenaladale went to those men, and told them he was going to bring young Clanronald to them; but when the prince came, they knew him, and fell upon their knees. He wore, at this time, a bonnet on his head, a yellow wig, a clouted handkerchief about his neck, a dark coat with a belted plaid, tartan hose, and highland brogues, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. Charles staid with these men in the cave five weeks and three days: in the course of that time, they got him a supply of linen by seizing the portmanteaus of some officers' servants. At length, the prince, weary of this life, became desirous of making his way to some of the neighbouring gentlemen: the highlanders, guessing his intention, entreated Glenaladale to dissuade him from it, saying, that no reward would be a temptation to them, for if they betrayed their prince, they must leave their country, as nobody would speak to them except to curse them; whereas 30,000*l.* was a great reward to a poor gentleman, who could go to Edinburgh or to London with his money, where he would find people enough to eat his meat and drink his wine. Charles, however, upon receiving a message from Cameron of Clunes, resolved to depart, and set out on a stormy night along the tops of the mountains. Before he went, he shook

1746.

hands with those of his friends whom he left behind : one of the seven, named Chisholm, ever afterwards used to give his left hand when he shook hands, saying, he was resolved to give no man his right hand till he met the prince again. On the second day, Charles found Cameron of Clunes ; he had a small hut near a mountain. When the weather was stormy, Charles and he used to inhabit the hut ; when it was moderate, they went up to the mountain. One morning, on looking down into the vale, they saw their hut destroyed, and soldiers in pursuit of them. Another day, when Charles and two others were on the mountain, the man who had the watch saw five persons approaching them. He waked Charles, who was asleep, and proposed to him to fly up the mountain. But the prince said they were so near, that the men, if enemies, would overtake them or reach them with their fire-arms, and that he thought it better to get behind the stones, and fire upon them as they approached. The strangers, when they came nearer, however, proved to be Clunes, with Doctor Cameron, Lochgary, and two servants. After waiting in this place some time longer, it was at length ascertained that the passes were not so strictly guarded as formerly, and at the end of August the party set out for Badenoch. Here the prince found Lochiel, who at a distance took him for an enemy, and proposed to fire upon him ; but when he recognised his prince, he went to meet him, and would have knelt, but Charles stopping him, said : " Oh ! no, my dear Lochiel, we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions, they'll immediately conclude that I am here." After remaining a

1746. short time with Lochiel at Mellanauir, and two nights in what is called a shieling, or bothie, (the hut of a highland shepherd during the summer,) Charles removed to a habitation prepared by Cluny, called the Cage. This place was situated on the face of a very high, rough, and rocky mountain in Benalder. In the midst of a tuft of thick bushes some trees were laid down to make a floor; stakes fixed in the earth, with heath and fog, formed the sides and roof. The whole hung as it were on a large tree, which reclined along the roof from one end to the other, and caused it to be called the Cage. Two stones formed a chimney: this place contained seven persons. Here the prince remained till the 13th of September.

Escape to
France,
Sept. 20.

The French government, when informed of the disaster of the Stuart army, sent two frigates to watch on the coast, and bring back the prince to France. These vessels having arrived at Lochnanuagh, Charles set out for that place, and embarked on the 20th of September. About one hundred persons, who, like himself, had concealed themselves in the mountains, embarked with him: on the 29th of September they landed at Roscort, near Morlaix, in Brittany.

Cruelty of
the victors.

While every friend of freedom rejoiced in the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion, the moderate had to regret that the victory was used without generosity and without mercy. The detachments which were sent into the districts of the rebel clans burnt the houses, and carried off the cattle of the villages. Women and children, destitute of food and shelter, wandered among the hills, and frequently perished for want of sustenance. Parties of soldiers scoured the

country, seizing and putting to sale the goods of any whom they pleased to denominate rebels. A tradesman of Stirling, having displeased an officer, was flogged, notwithstanding the protest of the magistrates, by order of Lieutenant-Colonel Howard. At length, one of the sufferers brought an action against a Captain Hamilton, who was among the most noted of these military plunderers, and procured a verdict in his favour. The merit of this judgment is chiefly due to Lord President Forbes, who, on this occasion, acted with his usual patriotism. He went further: he remonstrated strongly with the duke, and it is said with the king himself, against these barbarous severities. But his representations were so unacceptable, that all his former services were forgotten, because he would not forget what he owed to his misguided countrymen. The Lord President, in that critical time, when the credit of the government could raise no supply, had borrowed 1500*l.* at his own personal risk, which he had employed in procuring arms, and paying Lord Loudon's regiment. This money was never repaid. The ingratitude of such conduct preyed on the spirits of this public-spirited man, and his death, which happened within two years after the rebellion, has been attributed to his regret, that the behaviour of the House of Hanover towards an invaluable friend, should so closely resemble the proverbial ingratitude of the Stuarts.

Death of
Lord
President
Forbes.

The last scene of this tragedy, was the trial and execution of the rebels.

The Earl of Cromertie, the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, were brought to trial at the end of July, before the peers in Westminster Hall, on bills of indict-

Trial of the
rebel lords,
July.

1746. ment previously found by a grand jury of the county of Surrey. Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Cromertie pleaded guilty: Lord Balmerino stood his trial. The point upon which he relied was, that he was not present at Carlisle on the 10th day of November, the day laid in the indictment. But the judges were all of opinion, that the day named was immaterial, so that it was before the day on which the indictment was found. This point being decided, the evidence was quite clear, and Lord Balmerino was condemned, with Lords Kilmarnock and Cromertie, to the dreadful penalties of high treason.*

Executions.

Of the condemned lords, Lord Balmerino seemed the least affected by his fate. Naturally of a gay and fearless disposition, he thought it no more became him to be melancholy because he was about to be executed, than it would have been if he had been ordered on a desperate assault. It is the custom, on trials for high treason before the peers, for the jailor to carry an axe, which he holds with the edge from the prisoners till they are condemned, and with the edge to them afterwards. Balmerino, on getting into the coach on his return, said to the jailor, "Take care, or you will break my shins with this damned axe." He shewed Lord Kilmarnock how he must lay his head; bade him not winch, lest the stroke should cut his head or his shoulders; and advised him to bite his lips. He proposed they should have another bottle together, "as

* Proceedings against William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromertie, and Arthur Lord Balmerino. Published by order of the House of Peers, 1746.

they should never meet more till"—pointing to his neck. 1746.
Although a very old man, he had a young and handsome wife, whom he called his "pretty Peggy." He sent for her, and she was allowed to stay with him in prison the whole time that remained to him. When his death-warrant was brought in, he and his wife were at dinner: his wife fainted; on which he turned round, saying, "Lieutenant, with your damned warrant you have spoilt my lady's stomach."

Lord Kilmarnock appears to have rebelled from no inherent principle of fidelity to the legitimate heir of the crown; and indeed he boasted on his trial, that he had been brought up and long persevered in sentiments of loyalty to the reigning family. His defection was owing to sheer poverty. The keeper of the Tennis Court in London said he had often known him dine with the man who sold pamphlets at Story's Gate. His wife, in one of the intercepted letters, tells him she has plagued their steward for a fortnight for money, and can get but three shillings. In this state of distress, it is said that the old Countess of Errol forced him into the rebellion, on pain of disinheriting him.*

Lord Balmerino and Lord Kilmarnock both suffered August.
with great constancy. On the scaffold, Lord Balmerino asked his fellow-sufferer if he knew of any orders issued previous to the battle of Culloden, not to give quarter: to which Lord Kilmarnock replied in the negative.†

* Walpole's Letters to G. Montague, Esq.: Letters xix. and xx.

† Tindal.

1747.

Lord Cromertie was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned: a piece of mercy with which some of the more violent Whigs were but ill-pleased.

An act of parliament having passed to enable the king to appoint a commission for trying the rebel prisoners in Southwark, forty-three were found guilty, and condemned to death; of whom seventeen were executed on Kennington Common. Others were tried in the North, and a few were executed. Of all the punishments inflicted for the sake of securing the Protestant succession, the most revolting to our feelings is the taking the life of Mr. Ratcliffe: having been engaged in the rebellion of 1715, he was taken on board ship many years afterwards, and executed on his former conviction.

In the following March came on the trial of Simon Lord Lovat, likewise before the peers, on the impeachment of the House of Commons. The case of Lord Lovat is strongly distinguished from that of all others who died in the cause of the Stuarts. In other instances we feel compassion for men, who, although they were in fact exposing their country to the most dreadful evils, yet acted from a mistaken sense of loyalty and public right: for Lord Lovat we can feel nothing but contempt and detestation. He was one of the seven who signed the association to the pretender: his conduct had become suspected to the government, and Marshal Wade had deprived him of the command of an independent company which he received from George I. This slight, according to his own account, he never forgave. He employed the authority he possessed in the Highlands, and the cunning with which nature had

endowed him, in binding together a Jacobite party, and fostering a rebellion. While so employed, however, he did not cease to make to Lord President Forbes the most solemn assurances of his attachment to the House of Hanover. On the other hand, he obtained from the pretender a commission as his lieutenant, together with the patent of a dukedom; and he seems to have been greatly transported at these airy honours. But when the young prince arrived, instead of joining him, he kept away, on the pretence of age, and sent at the head of the clan his son, a young man of nineteen, then studying at the University of St. Andrews, who shewed great reluctance to go. Lord Lovat, however, urged him; and telling him of the patent of the dukedom, which he charged him to get into his possession, said it would be the height of ingratitude if he shewed any remissness in the cause. He then wrote to Lord President Forbes, that his son had carried off the clan against his will, and from time to time complained openly of their defection. This double policy he maintained to the last. Even after the battle of Culloden, which he thought a rash and foolish action, he met the chevalier, and proposed to raise a body of between 3 and 4000 men; each chief to bring a certain number. But when his turn came, he would not sign the paper, saying, that Lochiel would answer for his son. For himself he never despaired: when taken, he offered his services to government, and, quoting Virgil, said he was

1747.

In utrumque paratus,
Seu versare dolos, seu certæ occumbere morti.

1746.

All these facts came out on his trial: several of his dependents gave evidence against him; and Murray, the secretary to the pretender, in a full and circumstantial narrative, detailed the whole conspiracy for rebellion. He made an obstinate defence, but was found guilty by the unanimous opinion of 117 peers.* After his condemnation he behaved in prison with much levity, but attempted on the scaffold to play the part of a patriot Roman.

Reflections.

Thus ended the last serious attempt of the Stuart family to regain the crown of Great Britain. Let us pause for a moment, to consider the conduct of the expedition, and the character of him who should have been its hero.

By commencing without aid from France, the young pretender threw away all the advantages which he might expect to derive from the war between that power and Great Britain, and lost the assistance of all the English Jacobites, whose affection for the legitimate monarch was qualified by a prudent regard for their own safety. Nay, the highlanders themselves were only induced to take arms by the romantic weakness of one of their chiefs, who could not bear to be taunted with lukewarmness or want of courage. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, however, the first operations of the rebel army were eminently successful: Edinburgh fell into their hands, and the popular feeling inclined strongly to an adventurer,

* Proceedings against Simon Lord Lovat, published by order of the House of Peers, 1746.

who, while he played for the crown, placed his life in pledge with the nation. The expedition into England, however, was undoubtedly a rash and ill-concerted measure. If the prince hoped to surprise and awe the English people and government, he should have advanced sooner: if he meant to measure himself against the army from Flanders, and trusted to the chances of war, he should have waited for reinforcements from France. Lewis would scarcely have allowed him to remain long in possession of Scotland, without sending him assistance. He counted, it is true, upon the rising of his friends in England; but he ought to have known them well enough to conclude that they would not risk themselves with no other support than 5000 highlanders, who were generally esteemed at best as a brave but barbarous militia. Disappointed in this attempt, the hazard of a battle was again favourable to him; but the opportunity was lost, and the campaign ended by a hurried retreat. The last action was another egregious fault; having once retired to the highlands, Charles ought to have developed against the English the various resources of mountain warfare. With one defeat, however, and that not a bloody or ruinous one, the prince lost all hope, and never seems to have meditated further resistance. It was in vain that the highland chiefs formed the project of a new rising; no steps for putting it in execution seem to have been taken.

1746.

If the expedition was, generally speaking, ill-conceived and ill-conducted, much of the failure is to be attributed to the character of the prince who led it. One fault, in-

1746. deed, which has been laid to his charge, namely, the want of personal courage, seems most unjustly imputed to him. To have come to Scotland with seven persons, to tilt for the crown of Great Britain, was in itself a proof that courage was not wanting. Let it be added, that he was always eager for a battle, and cannot be justly accused of having shewn in the field any sign of fear; nor when he was in peril of being taken every moment, do his spirits seem to have forsaken him. Above all, his eagerness at Derby to engage the Duke of Cumberland, with another English army in his rear, and in defiance of all the forfeitures hanging over his head, is a sign of a singularly bold and venturous nature. But there is a quality higher than personal courage, and more necessary for the chief of a great enterprise. This quality is force of character; that vigour of heart and mind which enables a man to assume the direction of his fellows, to make them resolve by his resolution, and think with his thought. It was in this quality that the Stuart prince was deficient. With a forward and almost childish desire for decisive battles and desperate measures, he had neither the capacity to frame a plan of conduct, nor the presence of mind to make a vigorous decision in a critical moment. Hence, although he was the hero of a party whose maxims make the will of a nation the property of the legitimate heir, his most confident proposals gained but a half assent, and sometimes none at all, from those who ought to have been his followers. This imbecility of mind, and the dissensions it produced, were the ruin of his enterprise. Had Lord

George Murray or the Duke of Cumberland been in his place, the issue might have been different.

1746.

Charles Stuart, although deficient in the higher and sterner qualities of man, did not appear in this expedition to want the more amiable and engaging. He was always called by the highlanders "our sweet-natured prince;" and no act of cruelty has been imputed to him.

The House of Hanover derived from this ill-conducted enterprise the greatest advantages. Indeed, from the moment that their succession to the crown of England was in prospect, they had to thank their adversaries for the want of skill which they displayed in the whole course of their hostility. The quarrels of the Tory ministry of Queen Anne, and the clumsy rebellion of Lord Mar, enabled Walpole to fix the foundations of the new dynasty. It was not till thirty years had passed in liberty and prosperity, that the heir of the House of Stuart attempted to disturb a settlement to which all the active generation were reconciled, if not attached. The English people resented the invasion as the combined attempt of the pope, the king of France, and the barbarous highlanders, to gain England by conquest. The English army affronted the peril; scarcely a defection stained their reputation; and, without the aid of either the Dutch or Hessians, they, at the battle of Culloden, put an end to the war. Henceforth the king might firmly rely on the fidelity of his troops and the attachment of his people, if not to him, to their own liberties and religion. The Jacobites, dispirited by the result of this rebellion, gave up the cause, and one by one rallied round the throne of a constitutional

1746. king. The question between the rival dynasties was decided: the Protestant monarchy was safe, and with it the rights of the people.

Capture of
Brussels.

In the winter of 1745-6, Marshal Saxe conceived and executed a very bold and skilful project. Being informed that the allies had a considerable garrison in Brussels, he formed the design of making himself master of the place; an enterprise which would not only deprive the enemy of a considerable part of their forces, but greatly weaken them in reputation. In order to effect this object, it was necessary to take advantage of a season of frost, as it would otherwise be impossible to pass the Scheldt, the Dendre, the Wilworden, and the Senne, which lay in his way. The frost so much desired having at length arrived, the troops were all ordered to be assembled by the 27th of January, for the execution of the project. The army marched in several bodies, from Maubeuge, Ath, Tournay, and Oudenarde. The marshal himself set out from Ghent on the 28th, with twenty-five field-pieces, twenty-five battalions, and thirty-four squadrons, and moved by Alost and Asche, towards Trois-Fontaines, where he had given the meeting to the garrison of Dendermond. Their commander, Monsieur Devaux, had already carried the redoubt of Trois-Fontaines, and taken post between the canal and the Senne. Each body of men was accompanied by light troops, to conceal the nature of the force that was advancing. In the morning of the 30th, the bridges on the canal and the Senne were completed, which enabled the marshal to invest the place. On the following days he sent large

detachments forward, with a view of preventing the gar- 1746.
risons of the places surrounding Brussels from attempting
to succour their companions, except by making an im-
mense circuit.

Wilworden surrendered on the 1st of February. The Feb.
trenches were opened before Brussels in the night, from the
7th to the 8th, at the gate Scaerbeck, opposite to a horn-
work, which formed the strongest part of the place. The
dry and sandy nature of the soil, which enabled the men to
work in all weathers, was the reason given by the marshal
for choosing this point of attack. As soon as two breaches
were made, the marshal sent a few grenadiers, each sup-
ported by a company, to see if they were practicable. A
body of 2000 men, who were kept behind the horn-work,
soon drove back the grenadiers; but it being ascertained
that the place might be carried by assault, the garrison
hoisted the white flag, and asked to capitulate. They all
surrendered prisoners of war; only the Dutch troops were
to have their arms restored to them. This capture gave
the French 108 pieces of cannon, more than 50 colours
and standards, and upwards of 100 officers prisoners, who
were at Brussels on leave. It did not cost the assailants
more than from 4 to 500 men.

After the capture of Brussels, Marshal Saxe remained Campaign in
for some time quiet. Lewis determined to assist in person Flanders.
at the opening of the campaign; and made a triumphal
entry into Brussels on the 4th of May. After a short time, May.
however, he returned to Versailles, to be present at the
lying-in of the dauphiness. The summer was spent in

1746. besieging the principal places of Austrian Flanders; Marshal Saxe himself covering the sieges. In this manner, Antwerp, Mons, Charleroy, St. Ghislain, and Namur, fell, in succession, to his arms. In the beginning of October, when the citadel of Namur surrendered, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, with the exception of Luxemburg and Limburg, was in the hands of the French. The army of the confederates under Prince Charles opposed no obstacle to these important conquests, which in former wars had furnished matter for more than one campaign. But Marshal Saxe was not yet satisfied. Prince Charles had taken a position on the Jaar, in order to cover Maestricht, and keep up a communication with Liege. His right rested upon the village of Sling, from whence a deep and broad ravine descends to the Jaar. The centre occupied the villages of Leirs, Waroux, and Rocoux: the left extended to the village of Ance, which was likewise protected by ravines and hollow ways. In the weakest part of this line, between the centre and the extreme left, the Prince of Waldeck had constructed three batteries, which flanked the village of Rocoux; another battery of ten guns defended the village of Ance.

This position, which was in other respects strong, had the fault of being extremely narrow. In the rear were deep ravines, which made it difficult for one wing to succour another, or to place reserves where they were required. The river Meuse, whose banks are very steep and rugged, flowed behind the position: the only ground on which a retreating army could make a stand without

crossing the river, was in a place known by the name of the Roman camp. The allies had constructed three bridges at Vizet. 1746.

Marshal Saxe, taking these circumstances into consideration, proposed to himself to turn the left of the allied army; hoping that if he should succeed, he should be able to destroy them entirely in their retreat, and take Maestricht before the winter. For this purpose, it was necessary to have the assistance of the troops which had been employed in the siege of Namur. He calculated his movements, therefore, in such a manner that on the 9th of October 9. October, his left was at Tongres, and his right at Horelle. On the 10th he passed the Jaar with all his army, resting his left at Glon, and his right at Horion. The allies had now their right at Hontain, and their left at St. Marguerite, a suburb of Liege, which city lay behind them.*

On the 11th the *générale* was beat at break of day, but a thick fog prevented the troops from moving before eight o'clock. The Count d'Etrées, the Count of Clermont, and M. de Lowendahl, had orders to carry the left of the position. Upon approaching it, they found that the village of Ance was filled with infantry, supported by bodies of cavalry. The Count of Clermont ordered the troops to be formed, and artillery to be brought up: thirty-six pieces of cannon opened their fire on the confederates. But these arrangements were not completed till three o'clock: at that hour the Count d'Etrées attacked the village in flank and front, and forced the allies to retire, leaving

Battle of
Rocoux,
October 11.

* Marshal Saxe to M. d'Argenson: Correspondance du M. de Saxe.

1746. six pieces of cannon. The Dutch cavalry charged with great gallantry the French infantry, as they came through the hedges which bordered the village, but were repulsed by a steady fire of musketry. The allies retreated about six hundred paces, when they again formed, covered by their cavalry, which occupied the high road.

About the time that the attack began on the left of the allies, Marshal Saxe ordered a numerous body of infantry to attempt the villages of Rocoux and Waroux in the centre. "These villages," says the marshal, in his report, "were occupied by twelve battalions of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, supported by other bodies of infantry of the same nations, and you know it is the best they have." They were likewise flanked by artillery. The contest was a very severe one; in the first attack the French were repulsed; but, renewing their efforts, they succeeded in carrying the villages, though with considerable loss. It was now five o'clock in the evening. The marshal led all the right centre along the village, to flank the large battery, which had greatly incommoded his troops. The Count d'Etrées perceiving this movement, advanced and joined the marshal. The allies seeing themselves attacked in flank by so large a force, abandoned their position, and retreated in good order. Sir John Ligonier, at the head of the cavalry, protected the retreat; and the night coming on, served to prevent any further pursuit. The right, which had never fought, being protected by the ravine, retired to the Roman camp; the centre and left descended to the Meuse. Marshal Saxe said with regret, that if he had had two hours more

day-light, few of these troops would have escaped. He reckoned the loss of the allies at 4 or 5000 killed, and 3000 prisoners; his own at 2800 killed and wounded. The allies computed the loss of the French at 10,000 killed and wounded; their own at half the number. It is probable the French had more killed and wounded than the allies: on the other hand, they took fifty pieces of cannon, and eleven pair of colours. 1746.

Marshal Saxe, however, having failed in his main object, that of destroying the allied army, did not venture to pass the Meuse, in order to form the siege of Maestricht. The battle of Rocoux, therefore, fought at the end of the campaign, and leading to no further result, was a victory thrown away. Perhaps, indeed, it may be doubted whether, considering the strength of the position of the allies, Marshal Saxe could reasonably have expected to carry it in less time than he did; and in that case he was hardly justified in the waste of lives for so remote a chance. This victory, however, served to increase the fame of the army and their commander. The English attributed this defeat to the superior excellence of the French artillery.

Some anecdotes of this battle, although commonly known, deserve mention. Marshal Saxe had a troop of actors at his head-quarters, of whom Madame Favart, his mistress, was one of the principal. On the evening of the 10th, after the play, she came forward and said, by his direction, "To-morrow, gentlemen, there will be no performance, on account of the battle: on the following day, we shall have the honour to give the *Coq du Village*." Another anec-

1746. dote, told of this battle, is better worth relating. In the course of it, the Chevalier d'Aubeterre, struck with the courage of an English soldier, who had defended himself for a long time against many assailants, said to him, "If there had been 50,000 such men as you in your army, we should have found it difficult to beat them." The soldier replied: "There were men enough like me, but we wanted one like Marshal Saxe." If I mistake not, the same story is told of one of Marlborough's battles.

While the campaign in Flanders was thus disastrous for the allies, the British arms at sea, though not equally unfortunate, were without lustre. In the East Indies the French had eight men of war, one of them of 74 guns, and two others of 56, under M. Bourdonnais: the English had six, of which one was of 60 guns, and three of 50, under Commodore Peyton. When these two squadrons met, Peyton, after a cannonade of some hours, declined to renew the engagement: soon afterwards, Bourdonnais appeared before Madras, and made himself master of that important settlement.

French fleet
in America.

Great preparations were made both by France and England, with a view to conquest in America. The French fleet which sailed from Brest, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three frigates, three fire-ships, and two bombs, was intended to retake Louisbourg, and capture Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia. It was accompanied by 3500 land troops in transports; but a great storm off the coast of Canada dispersed the ships; and an infectious malady made such ravages among the officers and men, that the fleet returned to Europe in October, without

having even attempted any of the objects of the expedition. 1746.

The English fleet was prepared at Portsmouth, and was intended for the reduction of Quebec. The Duke of Bedford, first lord of the Admiralty, in vain urged that the expedition ought to sail the moment it was ready. The irresolution of the rest of the ministry detained it till the time for attacking Quebec was past. That all the expense might not be lost, it was resolved to destroy Port l'Orient, the chief port of the French East India Company in Europe. Sixteen ships of the line, and eight frigates, with 5800 troops, sailed from Portsmouth for this purpose. The landing was effected without opposition by General Sinclair, who commanded the troops. L'Hôpital, Sept. the French commander, had with him 12,000 militia, but few muskets. On the side of the assailants there was a want of heavy artillery: however, a battery was opened upon the town, and some parts of it set on fire by red-hot shot. The besieged resolved to surrender, and were about to send the keys to the besieging general, when, to their great surprise, the firing ceased, and the British troops retired. Some misunderstanding between General Sinclair and Lestock, who commanded the fleet, is said to have been the cause of this disgraceful retreat. Lestock, to throw off his share of the blame, declared he had risked the safety of his fleet more than he ought in prudence to have done. Whoever may have been most in fault, it is certain the divided authority of the army and navy has been repeatedly fatal to the success of English expeditions. English expedition against Port l'Orient.

1746. During this year overtures for peace were made by
 Negotiations. France, at the desire of Holland, and conferences were
 Oct. opened at Breda. The French ministry offered a project of peace, the basis of which was, that France should restore the Netherlands in return for Cape Breton. Lord Sandwich, who represented Great Britain, refused to give any answer to this project, till the ministers of Austria and Sardinia should be admitted to the conferences. France refused to consent to this proposal. The negotiations were finally broken off by the determination of the empress queen, and the inclination of a great part of the English ministry, to continue the war. Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pelham were strongly inclined to peace; but the Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford seem to have thought that better terms might be obtained. During the course of the conferences at Breda, the Marquess of Puysieux, who represented the King of France, was called to fill the department of foreign affairs, in the room of the Marquess d'Argenson. M. du Theil succeeded him at Breda.

Projects of
 the allies.
 May 22.

Maria Theresa hoped more from the conventions she had formed for bringing a great army into the field than from negotiations. She had made a defensive alliance with Russia, by the terms of which the power attacked was to receive a succour of 30,000 men from the other contracting party. Holland was likewise induced, not indeed to declare war, but to act as a belligerent; by a convention settled at the Hague, Great Britain and Holland were each to furnish 40,000 men for the defence of Flanders; the empress queen, on her part, engaged to maintain 60,000 men in the Netherlands, besides gar-

risons; 10,000 in Luxemburg, 60,000 in Italy; the King of Sardinia was to furnish 30,000 Piedmontese; and France was to be invaded on the side of Provence. England, besides binding herself to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, promised to anticipate the payment of the subsidies to the empress-queen, and to furnish an additional sum of 10,000*l*. 1746.

It is clear that the money offered by England was the cement of this warlike alliance. Had she listened to the proposals of France, she might at this time have made an honourable and advantageous peace. But the Duke of Newcastle, after having rid himself of Lord Granville, had become almost as fond of war as that Quixotic minister himself. On a motion made by Lord Lonsdale for an address to the king, not to send any more troops abroad, he spoke with considerable force in favour of continuing hostilities. Lord Granville, who was present, said nothing, but flattered the Duke of Newcastle when the debate was over.* June.

In the campaign of 1747, the Duke of Cumberland, who had been named commander-in-chief of the allies, was the first to assemble his army; but he could attempt nothing, for the empress-queen and the Dutch had furnished only a small part of their contingents, and the army was not supplied with magazines. Marshal Saxe remained quietly in cantonments, between Louvain, Brussels, and Antwerp, saying, he would teach the Duke of Cumberland that the 1747.

* Mr. Pelham to Horace Walpole, June 12, 1746. Mem. of Lord Walpole.

1747. first duty of a general was to take care of the health of his troops. It was in his power, whenever he pleased, to direct his force against any part of the line of the allies, which made it incumbent on them to guard against surprise.*

April 17. On the 17th of April, the minister of France at the Hague presented a somewhat ironical declaration from his master to the States General, announcing, that in the same amicable manner as they had sent, in 1744, 40,000 of their troops into the plains of Lisle, without intending to make war upon him, so he was now obliged, without any hostile intention, to send his troops upon the territory of the republic, in order to prevent the dangerous effects of the protection granted by them to the troops of the Queen of Hungary.

Invasion of
Holland.

On the very same day on which this memorial was delivered, Lowendahl, with 20,000 men, entered the Dutch territory. The object of Marshal Saxe was to clear his left from the embarrassment of the Dutch fortresses. For this purpose he ordered the siege of all those which are situated on the left bank of the Scheldt. Sluys, Fort Perle, Sas van Ghent, Philippine, Hulst, all successively yielded to the vigorous attacks directed against them; and in less than a month the whole left bank of the Scheldt was in the hands of the French.

Revolution
in Holland.

A consequence, unforeseen by the victors, however, flowed from this invasion. Lowendahl, on his first irruption, declared to two Dutch officers that the invasion was made by the connivance of the government, and that he ex-

* Lett. du M. de Saxe.

pected little resistance. During the alarm and uneasiness occasioned by the rapid progress of the French, the partisans of the House of Orange circulated the affidavits of these officers: the people were immediately in a flame, and the cry of treachery went from one end of the republic to the other. The first open insurrection began at the town of Vere, in Zealand. The burghers assembled tumultuously, and required the magistrates to proclaim William Henry Prince of Orange, by the title of Stadtholder. This demand was complied with; the neighbouring towns followed the example; and the states of Zealand were obliged to yield to the popular inclination. The prince was named, on the same day, stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the province. After this declaration, the states acquainted the members of the states of Holland with their proceedings: the town of Rotterdam immediately proclaimed the prince their stadtholder, and sent a deputation to the Hague to desire the rest of the province of Holland to do the same. The authorities answered at first that they must consult all the other towns of the province, upon which the mob grew turbulent, and demanded to have the pensionary and M. Hallewin delivered to them. Count Bentinck quieted them by an assurance, that on a day which he named, the Prince of Orange should be declared stadtholder; but he was obliged to carry the pensionary away in his own carriage, to protect him from popular insult.*

1747.

April.

It was imagined in England that this revolution would

* Duke of Newcastle to Duke of Bedford, April 21, 1747.

1747. restore to Holland her ancient weight and strength. But it soon appeared, that the prince, though a man of much promise and sanguine temper, was not made to fill the place of his great ancestors. Active without effect; pompous without dignity; jealous of the Duke of Cumberland, without military knowledge or skill of his own; he embarrassed, rather than promoted, the operations of the field. By his apparent energy, however, he deceived Lord Sandwich, who, as a partisan of war, was anxious to discover a hero on the side of the allies.

The operations of the field continued favourable to the French. Marshal Saxe, indeed, was this year a conqueror in spite of himself: he wished to keep his position, to allow the allied army to waste itself by vain efforts, and to reap the advantages which time was sure to produce.* This plan being over-ruled by the court, he made what he considered a very hazardous movement, namely, lengthening out his position towards Maestricht. The Duke of Cumberland ably took advantage of this step, to separate the different parts of the French army; and had not Marshal Saxe, by a skilful manœuvre, prevented the consequences, the French would have been deprived of supplies, while the allies were at their ease. The King of France was himself present with his army: in order to give lustre to his journey, it was determined to attack the allies, with the view of being able, in case of their defeat, to lay siege to Maestricht. On the 1st of July the two armies were close to each other.

* Mémoire de M. le Maréchal de Saxe. Lett. tom. v. p. 159.

The left of the allies occupied the villages of Wiltingen and of Hess, their cavalry extending towards Maestricht, which was a little in front of their line. Their centre was posted at Laufeldt and Rosmaer; their right rested upon the village of Gros-Spauven: the Austrians were on the right; the English and Hanoverians in the centre. The position was a strong one, in the form of an amphitheatre.

1747.

On the morning of the 2d of July, Marshal Saxe examined the position of Wiltingen and Laufeldt. The Duke of Cumberland, guessing his intention, ordered the village of Wiltingen to be set on fire, and reinforced the troops which occupied Laufeldt. At ten o'clock in the morning Count Clermont attacked the village of Laufeldt with three brigades of infantry, a reserve of one brigade, and two batteries of ten guns each. It was defended by six battalions of English and Hanoverian infantry, with six battalions in reserve, and cannon. In the first attack, the French penetrated into the village, but were speedily driven out. Four other attacks, made with all the four brigades of infantry, had no better success; the allies repaired their losses, and reinforced their troops. At length Count Clermont brought up heavy cannon, and attacked a sixth time with the Irish brigade and another. This time he forced the allies out of Laufeldt, but still could not oblige them to abandon the hedges which bordered it. Three other brigades, and some fresh cannon, which were brought up in flank of the column of support, were at length successful; and after a contest of four hours, the allied troops quitted the defence

Battle of
Laufeldt, or
Val.
July 2.

1747. of the village. In retiring by their right, these troops repulsed a French brigade, and drove them back with great loss.

When Laufeldt was lost, the left of the allies marched in column to regain it; but, being vigorously attacked, was thrown into disorder, and obliged to retire. The English cavalry, during the attack, made a diversion, by charging the right of the French; at first with some success, but were afterwards repulsed. General Ligonier, who greatly distinguished himself in protecting the retreat, was taken prisoner in performing that service.

Marshal Saxe now made his dispositions for attacking in front and flank the right of the allies. But Marshal Bathiani, preceded by the Dutch troops, had commenced his retreat immediately after the loss of the village, and, marching with great diligence, was out of reach before the French could attack him. The allied army retired under the cannon of Maestricht.

More than twenty pieces of cannon, and several standards and pairs of colours were taken by the French in this action. The loss of men is variously estimated; the French affirm that the allies lost from 8 to 10,000 men in killed and wounded: on the other hand, Sir John Ligonier was told by Marshal Saxe, that 8000 foot and 1000 horse, among whom there were 1000 officers, were killed and wounded on the side of the French. The loss of the allies was estimated by themselves at 5000 men in killed and wounded. Both commanders narrowly escaped being taken: the Duke of Cumberland was once enveloped in a squadron of French horse; and Marshal

Saxe, in like manner, was carried by his ardour into the ranks of the allies. The siege of Maestricht, the object of the battle, and the expected fruit of victory, was not yet practicable. Marshal Saxe himself states, that the faults committed by the French on the day of the battle deprived them of the advantage they expected to draw from it. In order, therefore, to derive some benefit from their victory, it was resolved to detach Count Lowendahl to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom. It was hoped that this enterprise would induce the allies to draw off their army from Maestricht, in order to raise the siege. Count Lowendahl, a Dane by birth, was much esteemed in the French army; he promised, that if the allies marched to succour the place, he could withdraw his cannon and troops without any risk. The allies, however, did not fall into this trap; relying on the strength of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was considered as the masterpiece of Cohorn, they laughed at the temerity of the French, and confined themselves to the defence of Maestricht. The trenches before Bergen-op-Zoom were opened on the 15th of July; and at the end of August but little progress had been made. Marshal Saxe began to be jealous of Count Lowendahl, and declared that the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom was above all human effort; other French officers complained of his lukewarmness, and desired that the whole army should march to cover the siege: England and Holland believed that a stop was at length put to the progress of the enemy. All these speculations were overthrown by the event. On the night of the 14th of September, the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom was surprised, and,

1747.

Siege of
Bergen-op-
Zoom.Surprise of
the place,
Sept. 14.

1747. after a gallant defence in one of the squares, was obliged to abandon the place. The fault was laid upon Cromston, the governor, who was eighty years old, an age somewhat unsuited to a post of activity and vigilance. It is a proof, however, of the low state of the Dutch army, that in reflecting upon this appointment afterwards, it was found that a better could not have been made. This important capture put an end to the campaign.

The success of the French in the Netherlands was, in some degree, balanced by a naval victory of England. Early in the year, two fleets, the one destined for America, and the other for the East Indies, consisting together of ten men-of-war and twenty-eight transports, sailed from Brest. The British ministry being informed of the strength and intentions of this armament, sent a superior fleet to the coast of France, commanded by Vice-Admiral Anson. He sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of April, and April 9. cruising off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of May fell in May 3. with the French fleet. The English admiral at first formed his squadron in order of battle, but perceiving the enemy begin to sheer off, he made a signal for his whole fleet to give chase, and engage promiscuously. The action lasted from four till seven in the afternoon, when the last French ship struck her colours. The English squadron consisted of fourteen ships of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and a fire-ship; the French of five ships of the line, and as many frigates: only eight of the English ships were engaged. Captain Grenville, a very distinguished officer, was killed in this engagement. Admiral Anson returned immediately to England, and was soon afterwards created

a peer. The money taken on board the French fleet was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the Bank. 1747.

When last we attended to the affairs of Italy, it will be recollected that the Spanish army had their headquarters at Viterbo, and the Austrians at Forli. The campaigns of 1745, 1746, and 1747, form a series of events so connected, that the relation has been deferred till they might be conveniently brought together. 1745.

Count Gages broke up from Viterbo early in the year March. 1745. He marched with his army across the Appenines; and Lobkowitz, without waiting his arrival, retreated to Modena. Here Count Gages was about to attack the Austrians, and had made all his dispositions, when a messenger arrived from Spain, bearing intelligence that the Infant don Philip would shortly arrive with reinforcements on the confines of the Genoese territory, whither Gages was ordered to repair.

A council of war was assembled. The Duke of Modena proposed to march directly to Novi, while others advised a retreat into the Roman territory, in order to obtain a clear road to Genoa. But Gages, blaming the first project as too hazardous, and the second as too timid, proposed that the heavy baggage should be sent back to Bologna, to be conveyed from thence to the Lucchese territory, while the main body should direct its march across the Appenines, by the mountains of San Pellegrino, to the same country. This plan was adopted, and happily carried into effect. The baggage, with 5000 men, including the sick and wounded, were sent by Bologna;

1745. while the Duke of Modena and Count Gages, with the rest of the army, gained twenty-four hours upon the Austrians, and effected their march without an accident. Some hours afterwards, a dreadful storm of snow swept over the summits where they had passed.

The Spanish and Neapolitan army were treated with hospitality and kindness by the government and people of Lucca. Continuing their march, they arrived at Sarzana, where they were occupied for many days in throwing a bridge over the Magra. In the mean time, Lobkowitz had been superseded in the command of the Austrian army; and Count Schulemburg, who held the post *ad interim*, despatched light troops to harass the march of the Spaniards. These troops skirmished with the rear of the combined army at the passage of the Magra, and would have got possession of their bridge, had not an ensign of the Irish brigade, with four soldiers, rushed across, under a tremendous fire, and cut the ropes which fastened it: he then swam back, and reached the shore unhurt. Gages pursued his march the same day to Spezia.*

The treaty of Worms, which gave Finale to the king of Sardinia, had, though intended to be secret, become known to the Genoese very soon after its conclusion, through the means of G. F. Pallavicini, who had gone to Worms to compliment the King of England, in the name of the republic. They were indignant at this plan of spoliation. They recalled to mind, that, during the

* Bonamici, Comment. de Bello Italico.

Succession War, they had paid a large sum to the emperor for the very place of which his successor now proposed to despoil them: that the English, far from having any cause of complaint, had received refuge and hospitality in the ports of the republic, from the beginning of the present war: and, lastly, that the King of Sardinia had not even the pretence of a claim to Finale, but was excited only by the most unscrupulous ambition. As a question of policy, they remarked that the possession of a sea-port so near Genoa by an enterprising neighbour, might be very injurious, if not fatal, to the commerce of the republic.

1745.

Notwithstanding these provocations, the council proceeded with the caution and slowness characteristic of an aristocratical government. They first appointed three of their number, Pallavicini, Grimaldi, and Lomellini, to deliberate and report. Their report displayed the dangers of the republic, but did not point out any adequate remedy. At length it was determined to arm, to make a fresh declaration of neutrality, and await further events.

When the news of this armament reached England, Admiral Rowley was ordered to send one of his captains to Genoa to inquire the reason of it; and declare, in the name of his sovereign, that Great Britain, which had undertaken to defend Italy from aggression, could not see with indifference a new disturber appear. To this remonstrance, the doge replied, that the peace of Italy was as dear to the Genoese as it could be to the king of so remote a nation; that Genoa persisted in her intentions of neu-

1745. trality, and that the reception given to the English ships was a proof of it.*

Treaty of
Aranjuez.
May 1.

In the mean time, the envoys who had been sent to the coalesced powers to induce them to relax in their hostile intentions, met with a mortifying reception. The Queen of Hungary pitied them, but could not violate her treaty; the King of Sardinia referred them to London; and the King of England declared he thought it but just, that Genoa should make some sacrifice to the liberty of Italy. Thus, mocked with idle pretences, the lesser council, after warm discussion, agreed to unite the arms of the republic to those of the Bourbons. Grimaldi, the envoy of Genoa in Spain, speedily concluded a treaty for this purpose at Aranjuez. The Genoese were to furnish 10,000 men, with thirty-six pieces of artillery: this force was not to be called into the field till the Spanish army had passed the Bocchetta: Spain was to pay to Genoa 12,000*l.* a month: Serravalle, and certain other castles and villages, were to belong to the republic; their territory to be defended by Spain; and the Spanish fleet to receive protection in the Genoese harbours.†

Count Gages had now past Genoa, and taken post at Ponte Decimo, in the valley of Polcevere. He was anxious to seize the passes of the mountains. The republic, at his request, waved the condition by which their succour was to be delayed till his army had crossed the mountains; and 8000 men, under the command of the Marquess of

* Bonamici.

† Ibid. Tindal.

Brignole-Sale, were added to the Spanish army. With this force Gages advanced, and, sending part of his troops by the right and left, marched himself in the centre. 1745.

The Austrians had taken up a strong position on the river Leme, near the village of Voltaggio. From this position they were driven in the most gallant style by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Genoese; with a loss of 800 men. Schulemburg continued his retreat to Ripalta; Gages took possession of Gavi and Novi, establishing his magazines at the former place. Serravalle was taken; and, according to treaty, remained with the Genoese.

In the mean time Don Philip approached with his army of French and Spaniards, and subduing with ease the places in which Piedmontese garrisons had been left, effected a junction with Gages at Acqui: the Marquess of Maillebois commanded the French contingent: the whole united army was said to amount to 62,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry. The King of Sardinia, at the approach of this formidable force, shut himself in an entrenched camp at the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro; and upon his invitation, Schulemburg, who had only 15,000 men, repaired to the same place, where the two generals endeavoured to supply the inferiority of force, by strength of position and field works.* June.

The combined army of the Bourbon kings and Genoa, on the other hand, awaited the decision of a council of war. Of the commanders, Count Gages had the reputation of

* Bonamici.

1745. a skilful and vigilant general : he was said, indeed, to be tardy in his resolves, and sparing in the expenses necessary to procure information : but, on the other hand, it was to be taken into account, that the court of Spain was jealous of any movement made without the approbation of Madrid ; and if Gages was not always well informed of the manœuvres of his opponents, he was extremely successful in concealing his own. Maillebois, the French general, was esteemed in those days a man well acquainted with the science of war ; but was supposed by the Spaniards to have orders from his court to risk nothing, and rather to engage the attention than attempt the destruction of the Austrian army. Certain it is, that the plan of Maillebois was thought timid by Gages ; and that of Gages was rejected as unmilitary by Maillebois. The siege of Tortona was proposed and accepted as a compromise.

Sept. 3 and 4. The artillery of the combined army was numerous, and well served ; the town of Tortona was soon taken, and the citadel obliged to surrender fourteen days after the trenches were opened. The next thing was to dislodge the enemy from their strong position. Bodies of troops were sent to Plasencia, Parma, and Pavia, in all of which places they succeeded in driving out the Austrians. Schu-
Sept. 28. lemburg, alarmed for the safety of the Milanese, left the entrenched camp, and marched towards Milan. Anticipating this movement, the French and Spaniards had formed a plan for carrying the position of the Sardinians. In pursuance of this plan, Gages recalled his nearer detachments,

and marching all night, came in sight of the Sardinian army early in the morning. Only a part of his force was arrived; but, judging it better to lose no time, he pushed his horse into the Tanaro, and called upon the royal cavalry to follow him. The cavalry quickly obeyed; the infantry marched through the river, which came as high as their shoulders; the Piedmontese, disconcerted by this spirited attack, abandoned the first entrenchments, and retired on the main body. But the remaining corps of the allies arriving from all sides, the whole Piedmontese army soon gave way, and retreated in various directions, some to Alexandria, some to Valenza. The cavalry endeavoured, for a time, to protect the retreat of their infantry; but a charge of the Spanish royal horse completely routed them. The king himself, after long struggling with his own troops, was obliged to join the flight; nor did he halt till he reached Casale. The success of the allies was complete. The camp and baggage of the Piedmontese fell into the hands of the allies: the number of slain and prisoners was not considerable. The merit of this passage of the Tanaro is attributed by some historians to Maillebois, by others to Gages; all unite in pronouncing it to be a master-piece of military skill.

1745.

After the battle, a council of war was held in the late head-quarters of the Piedmontese. Gages, it is said, earnestly proposed to follow the enemy, and take advantage of the terror which their late defeat was sure to have inspired. But Maillebois interposed, and, with various maxims of caution and wisdom, discountenanced any active

1747. pursuit. Don Philip, by the command of his father, listening with preference to the advice of the French general, over-ruled the opinion of Gages. But to his friends that chief often complained that he was obliged to submit to men who did not know how to gather the fruits of victory; and these murmurs reaching the soldiers, the Spanish camp echoed with clamours that the French commander had deprived them of the laurels they were about to acquire. The chiefs whispered that Maillebois on this, and on other occasions, acted by the direction of D'Argenson, the secretary of foreign affairs, who had imbibed a notion, that it was useless to carry on war in Italy without the assistance of the King of Sardinia, and who was, besides, unwilling to waste French blood, in order to make an addition to the Spanish power, which might, in a future war, be employed against France herself. The friends of Maillebois, on the other hand, alleged that the plans of the Spaniards were against all military rule; that it was unsafe to advance, without reducing the fortresses of Piedmont; that the true policy was to divide the King of Sardinia from the Austrians, and force him to consent to a separate peace.*

Oct. 12.

The views of Maillebois prevailing, it was determined to commence the sieges of Alexandria and Valenza. The town of Alexandria soon fell; the garrison took refuge in the citadel constructed by Vauban, which

* Hist. des Guerres des Français en Italie, par Joseph Servan. Mém. de Maillebois.

the allies were contented to blockade. The garrison of Valenza surrendered.

1745.
Nov. 29.

The King of Sardinia, as we have said, had retreated to Casale; but, upon the approach of the Spaniards, he abandoned this position, and retired still further. An Irish officer was left in command of a small fort, which he did not surrender till heavy artillery was brought, and the place nearly destroyed. He received his liberty, and the compliments of Don Philip on his gallant defence.

The period was now arrived for the army taking up winter-quarters, and Maillebois earnestly advised that they should winter on the Tesino, keeping up a communication with Parma and Modena. But other orders had arrived from the Queen of Spain, who, following the fashion begun by Louis the Fourteenth, of directing from the cabinet the operations of the field, exposed her cause to ruin for the gratification of her vanity. Don Philip, pretending that he was about to winter at Pavia, suddenly marched on Milan, which was left without defence. The inhabitants received him with joyful acclamations; strong detachments were sent on every side; and Gages, with a force of 20,000 men, drove Schulemburg to a distance. Thus successful, the Spaniards made the capital of Lombardy the scene of festive magnificence; and for this vain triumph extended their positions so widely as to expose themselves to the most imminent danger.

Don Philip
at Milan.
Dec. 4.

On the side of the sea, the English admiral, after a fruitless attempt on Savona, had appeared before Genoa with fire-ships and bombs. But, again baffled by the prepara-

1746. tions of the Genoese, he, a short time afterwards, attacked San Remo, and, that place being without defence, the merchant ships in the harbour were burnt, and the town almost entirely destroyed; a barbarous species of warfare!

Negotiations. About this time, intelligence of the peace of Dresden reached Italy. The King of Sardinia, driven from half his dominions, thought he had now a good opportunity for making a separate peace: his overtures for this purpose were eagerly caught at by D'Argenson. The terms were soon agreed upon: the King of Sardinia offered to renounce his pretensions on Finale, and give up Serravalle to the Genoese; on the other hand, he was to obtain Milan and a great part of Lombardy; Don Philip to have Parma, Plasencia, and Cremona; the Duke of Modena to be reinstated, and have Guastalla, on the death of the reigning prince. The Venetians were to be tempted to enter into the alliance by the offer of Mantua, which was to be besieged by the forces of the new allies.

The French cabinet, satisfied with these conditions, sent orders to their general in Piedmont to carry on the war languidly. But Philip of Spain was so extremely indignant, when he heard of the favour shewn to the King of Sardinia, in preference, as he said, to his own son, that he sent a confidential envoy to Paris, to induce the king to abandon the project. Intelligence of this obstacle reaching Charles Emanuel, together with accounts from a different quarter, of the approach of large reinforcements from Germany, he changed his plans: with the happy versatility of his family, he at once became an active enemy

to those with whom he had been treating, and a zealous friend to those whom he had been about to desert. In this disposition, he ordered the younger Maillebois out of his dominions, and marched quickly towards Asti, which was garrisoned by nine French battalions. The commander wrote to Maillebois for assistance; but that general ordered him to remain quiet, saying, nothing was to be feared from the King of Sardinia. Asti was invested, and surrendered.

1746.

March.

This event seemed to give at once a new complexion to the war. The Spaniards who blockaded the citadel of Alexandria, alarmed at the intelligence, broke up from their quarters in confusion. It soon became known, that the Austrians, relieved from the Prussian war, were pouring large forces into Italy.* Lichenstein advanced by the Vigevanasco; Berenclaw passed the Adda, and took Codogno; Lovestein drove the Spaniards from Lodi; Brown and Pallavicini marched from Mantua, to cut off the Spanish troops in Parma from the rest of their army.

Advance of
the Austrians.

Don Philip, thus attacked, and almost surprised, left Milan after three months of idle triumph. He marched towards Pavia; and Gages chose his position near the celebrated convent of the Carthusians. Hence orders were sent to Castelar, a Spanish general, to quit Parma, and join the main body. But Castelar, who was vain of his favour with the queen, refused to leave without a struggle her hereditary city. Gages, however angry with this insolent disobedience, put the army in motion, to save the

Don Philip
leaves Milan.
March 19.

* Bonamici, lib. iii. p. 1.

1746. troops in Parma, if possible, from capture. But when he came to Fiorenzuola he found the Trebia so swollen by rains, that he was obliged to halt some time to construct a bridge.

In the mean time, Brown, after deceiving the Spaniards by a feint, passed the Po at Borgoforte: so that when Gages arrived at Sanguinara, on the banks of the Taro, he saw, drawn up opposite to him, an Austrian army 30,000 strong. The river, at the same time, was so high, that neither army could reach the other. However, Gages induced Don Philip to write in such positive terms to Castelar, that he at length determined on quitting Parma. Effecting his object with equal skill and courage, he marched his division over the Appenines, to Spezia, whence, in a short time, he joined the main body. Gages, upon hearing of his departure from Parma, retreated to Plasencia: the Austrians were for some time prevented from following him by the state of the rivers, and the weather.

April.

On the other side, Maillebois executed various manœuvres to free Valenza, which had been invested by the King of Sardinia: but some signals misunderstood, and a mutiny of the Swiss, decided the surrender of the place.

The chief burden of the war was now removed to Plasencia. Gages, seeing the Austrian army vastly increased, proposed to take a strong post, to wear his enemy out by degrees, and await a change of fortune. With the view of enabling his cavalry to forage at a distance, he made a bridge over the Po, and fortified it so well, that the Austrians attempted in vain either to take or destroy it. Thus placed, he trusted to the climate to

perform the rest. In fact, the Germans being dispersed in low, unwholesome situations, soon began to suffer from disease.

1746.

But Philip of Spain retaining to the end that childish passion for conquest, joined to utter ignorance of the means of obtaining it, which he had always shewn, was not satisfied with the cautious policy of his general. In his first transports of anger at the agreement with Sardinia, he had sent Grimaldi, the Genoese envoy, to Vienna, with a proposal to separate his arms from those of France, and join the empress queen in a war against the King of Sardinia. But Maria Theresa, listening rather to the cabinet of London than to that of Madrid, positively refused to enter into such a treaty. Philip, therefore, indignant at once at his allies and his enemies, sent orders to his general to fight a battle, in the hope that a victory, of which, in his foolish confidence, he never doubted, would confirm the wavering faith of the French, or oblige the Austrians to pay more attention to his offers.

Gages, on the receipt of these orders, with some difficulty induced Maillebois to join him, called in all his detachments, and prepared for action. The French, strengthened by a body of Spaniards, under the command of Aramburo, occupied the right wing. The Spaniards formed the centre; the left was chiefly composed of Neapolitans and Genoese. The cavalry was kept in the rear, and did not enter into the plan of the allied generals.

Battle of
Plasencia.
June 15 & 16.

On the other hand, the Austrians likewise called in their detachments; and Lichtenstein, who from illness had

1746. been absent from the camp, returned and took the command. The allied army commenced the attack towards sunset, and succeeded in taking the forts which protected the front of the Austrian army, when night set in, and prevented further combat. Early in the morning the French advanced with the utmost gallantry against the Austrian position; but when, under a heavy fire of cannon, they had taken the first entrenchments, they found a large and deep ditch full of water, to stop their progress. No sand-bags or fascines had been provided to fill the ditch; indeed, the allied generals were ignorant of this formidable obstacle. The French and Spanish troops, however, despising all difficulties, leapt into the ditch, where many were sunk or crushed to death. Aramburo, pushing on, took six and twenty of the Austrian guns; but, for want of time or presence of mind, he made no use of them. A large body of cavalry attacked the French before they could recover the order of their advance. Falling at once into confusion, they fled back across the ground they had taken. Maillebois, who was on foot, attempted in vain to rally them, and was carried away in their flight. Gages, seeing the defeat of his allies, gave orders to cover the retreat, and resumed his position in Plasencia. The loss of the French and Spaniards in this action was found to be 3220 men killed, 4460 wounded, 13,425, with 10 pieces of cannon and 17 pair of colours, taken. The Austrians lost from 3 to 5000 men.

A few days afterwards, Gages and Maillebois, leaving about 4000 men in Plasencia, crossed the Po, and took a position between the Lambrio and the Adda.

The King of Sardinia joined the Austrians, and, according to the terms of the treaty of Worms, took the command of the united army. The Austrians were glad to be thus assured of the faith of their ally; the Piedmontese were proud of the new dignity of their king. 1746.

On the twenty-third day after the battle of Plasencia died Philip the Fifth of Spain. Ferdinand, the successor, immediately wrote to his brother to assure him he would follow the same policy; but the infante felt he had no longer a mother on the throne. Gages received orders to make a retreat to Tortona, which he effected, not without considerable loss. He proposed to take up and fortify a position between Tortona and Gavi. But at this moment arrived letters from Spain, superseding Gages, and ordering Castelar to return to Spain: the army was confided to the Marquess of Las Minas. Ferdinand had not forgotten the contempt with which he had been treated during the late reign; and it was easy to persuade him, that the war in Italy was a waste of Spanish resources, to gratify the personal ambition of the queen dowager. New counsels and new counsellors prevailed: the Marquess of Las Minas came to execute a commission somewhat similar to that of the Duke of Ormond when he superseded Marlborough. Death of Philip the Fifth. August. Aug. 14.

The change of plan was soon apparent. To the officers, who with ready adulation told Las Minas that they expected better things under the new general, he replied, "How better? can any thing be done with this army only in name?" Orders were given for a fresh retreat; Tortona was lost, the passes of the Appenines abandoned, Retreat of the Spaniards. Sept.

1746.

and the force so lately victorious in Piedmont and Lombardy seemed now to despair of defending Liguria. This change, like most others in the fortune of the Spaniards during this war, is to be attributed not to any military failure, but to the directions of the court. The conduct of Philip and Ferdinand alike tended, though in different ways, to the disaster of their own arms; and were there not numerous examples elsewhere, this instance alone would prove that a general whose discretion is fettered by orders from a distance, cannot long be glorious or successful. Nor is that page of history without instruction which points out the road to failure, and shews how large resources of men and money may be employed to the detriment of the state which wastes them.

When the Genoese found that Tortona was abandoned to its fate, they were agitated with unexpected alarm. They instantly sent Pallavicini to the Spanish head-quarters, to represent their services to the Bourbon cause, and their earnest hope that they might not be abandoned. Las Minas, with the most consummate perfidy and ingratitude, promised to defend their city; and induced them, by this specious offer, to send the troops which they had reserved for the defence of the city to Savona, to protect the flank of his army. This appearance he contrived to keep up, until one day the Genoese envoy, when preparing to go to his head-quarters, was informed that the Spanish army had already left Sestri, embarking its guns and stores.

It was now seen how unfit small states are to take part in the quarrels of great nations. A letter from the Spanish court had sufficed to put the Genoese republic in peril

of total annihilation. Presently the Austrian head-quarters were at San Pier d'Arena, a suburb of Genoa. The Genoese sent two of their senate to ask for favourable terms. The Austrian general replied, that they must submit to the mercy of the empress. A few days afterwards, Botta, a native of Italy, took the command of the Austrian army. From him the Genoese hoped for more favourable conditions. Admitted to an audience, the delegates were told that their state, their liberty, and their property, were all at the mercy of the conqueror: but that the empress, out of her great clemency, would permit Genoa to exist on the following conditions: that they should immediately deliver one of the gates of the city to the Austrian troops; that Gavi, and other forts of the republic, should be given up; that the ports and towns of the republic should be open to the Austrians and their allies; that all cannon or stores belonging to the French or Spaniards should be surrendered; that the doge and six senators should go to Vienna; that four senators should be given in the mean time as hostages; that a large contribution should be paid at present, and such sum afterwards as should be required. Twenty hours were given to deliberate on these terms. The delegates quoted the law of their senate, which forbade them to decide upon any subject on the day it was proposed. Botta replied with scorn: "it was for them to consider their laws; his was the law of armed men, to which they must submit."*

1746.
Fall of
Genoa.

The delegates returned with a heavy heart to the

* Bonamici.

1746. city. The question of submission or resistance was eagerly debated in the senate: at length it was proposed to examine the military chiefs; and their answers being to the last degree discouraging, it was determined to agree at once to the proposed conditions. Botta immediately occupied both the external and internal gates of the city; a heavy contribution was ordered to be levied; and the hostages required were sent to Milan.

Some discussion took place among the allies as to further proceedings. The Austrians coveted the re-conquest of their Neapolitan states, which it was thought would not be difficult. But the English, whose money fed the war, insisted upon an aggression against the frontier of France, as a means of diverting the French from the attack on the Netherlands. This plan was accordingly adopted, and Brown took the command of an army destined to invade France from the side of Nice. The mountainous country which lies between the higher Alps and the sea is little suited to military operations. The failure of Prince Eugene in an attack on this side, however, only made Brown the more anxious for the undertaking: he began the enterprise with laying siege to Antibes.

In the mean time, Count Botta having dispersed his troops in the Genoese territory, afflicted the capital with all the insolence of a lawless soldier. The contributions ordered to be raised were so enormous, that the senate, unable to levy so much at once, took the money from the bank of St. George, where the deposits of citizens and foreigners had hitherto been held inviolably sacred.

The pope interfered to save the city from a second payment as enormous as the first; but Maria Theresa, who seemed disposed at first to relax, in the end confirmed the order of her general. The grievances of the Genoese were rendered still more galling by the manners of the Germans, ever repugnant to the natives of Italy. They broke, on horseback, into the free-port, where the merchandise imported is exposed for sale, declaring that it all belonged to them by the right of conquest. They spoke in such savage terms of the vengeance they would inflict on the city, that it was generally reported they intended a massacre of the inhabitants. The people were indignant. They recalled to mind, that they had entered into the war, not as other states, to despoil Maria Theresa of her inheritance, but to resist a similar project of spoliation on her part. The doge went through the city without his usual guard, as if to shew, by this visible sign, that the republic was prostrate.

1746.

The minds of men were in this state, when an application came from Marshal Brown for some heavy cannon to besiege Antibes. Botta ordered the guns to be taken from the walls of Genoa for this purpose. The people murmured at this new mark of servitude. "What," they said, "are not only our properties to be taken, and our persons insulted; but the very defences of our city to be destroyed?" In conveying a heavy mortar along the street near the Doria gate, the pavement sunk under the weight. The Austrians compelled some of the by-standers, with threats and even blows, to assist in removing the mortar. The concourse of people in a fre-

Dec. 5.

1746.

quented thoroughfare increased every moment; and the more the number, the greater the buzz of angry murmur. At length, a boy, less prudent than the rest, took up a stone and threw it at an Austrian soldier. This served as a signal; all armed themselves with stones, and the soldiers were soon compelled to fly. The crowd, elated with their victory, directed themselves to the barrack where the arms were kept.

Upon the rumour of this event, the senate assembled, and delegated the most popular of their members to assuage the anger of the people. At the same time, they deputed a noble, of the name of Giovio, to represent to Botta, that any attempt on his part to punish the tumult, might lead to serious troubles. This message Botta received with disdain, saying, that neither he or his soldiers were to be frightened by the fury of a mob.

Genoa is situated on one side of a port formed by nature, but improved by well-constructed moles. To the west it is separated by a suburb from the valley of Polcevere. To the east, immediately under the city, runs a deep valley, or rather ravine, through which flows the river Bisagno. On the north, mountainous heights, which form the spurs of the Appenines, rise in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. There is an inner and an outer wall: the inner wall comprehends the city; the outer, sweeping along the summits of the nearer mountains has a circuit of many miles.

The next day a reinforcement marched into the town. This sight rekindled the anger of the multitude, and the tumult was revived in all its force. The people assembled

between the inner and outer gate, on the western side; but were driven from their post by the Austrian troops, whose cavalry charged into the town and scoured the strada Balbi. A shower of stones and missiles from the houses, however, compelled the troops to retire to the external gate of the city.

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Botta still meditated a signal vengeance upon the insurgents. For this purpose, he ordered his troops to be ready to march, and in the middle of the night took possession of the church of the Knights of Jerusalem, which commands the western part of the town. At the same time, he sent to desire the senate to attack the insurgents from behind, hoping they would not dare to commit themselves by a denial: but they indignantly refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen. The troops of Austria, which occupied the valley on the east of Genoa, attempted to break into the town by the Roman gate. But here too they were met by the resistance of the people, headed by a young officer of the name of Camerario, and after a short time were compelled to surrender.

Botta now veered round from extreme confidence to extreme alarm, and sent the Prince of Melzi to endeavour to make an accommodation.

The Marquess of Brignole-Sale, who, the year before, had commanded the contingent of Genoa, in the Spanish army, was now doge. From the beginning of the Austrian occupation, he had compressed within his own bosom feelings of indignant patriotism; while outwardly, without taking the part of the enemy, he had recommended

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patience and moderation. Upon the reception of the message of Botta, he professed himself ready to forward a treaty; but, secretly, he sent advice to the people, not to agree to any terms, unless the gates were delivered up, and all further demands of guns or contributions abandoned. When Doria was introduced to the popular assembly, therefore, they cried out, "The gates to be given to us! our cannon to remain! no more contributions!" With these terms, Doria and Lomellini were sent to the Austrian head-quarters. Botta had apparently agreed to the terms, when Lomellini thinking he meant to quibble, and give up only the internal gate, said, "The people require not the gate, but the gates." Botta was furious at this observation, and for several hours would not allow the delegates to depart.

The result of this negotiation was the renewal of hostilities with more than the former violence. Women and children moved up guns and mortars to spots where it seemed almost impossible to carry them. Cannon were taken out of a ship in the port, and placed opposite to the church of the Knights of Jerusalem. The Austrians in this position were surrounded, and obliged to surrender. Botta himself drew up his troops in an open space between the palace Doria and the inner gate of the town. The fire from the walls, though irregular, was kept up with great vigour: Botta himself was slightly wounded, many of his officers were killed or disabled. Thus mal-treated, he retired to the outer gate of St. Thomas; the people, under the direction of their chiefs, soon occupied the heights; and he thought it best to evacuate the place

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entirely. He remained a short time at San Pier d'Arena; but, fearful of being cut off by the peasantry of Polcevere, he spread a report through the country, that he abandoned Genoa by agreement, and made an unmolested retreat across the Appenines.

The German troops which were quartered in the Riviera de Levante endeavoured to secure themselves a strong post at Sarzana; but, repulsed by the commander of that place, they were glad to stipulate for a quiet evacuation of the Genoese territory. Thus the victory of the people was complete; and the sentiment of national independence, which seemed extinct in Italy, threw out one brilliant flame in the midst of the surrounding darkness.*

As soon as the Austrians were gone, the people, elate with joy, resolved to raise the siege of Savona. But the body detached for this object, with the versatility of an undisciplined multitude, were diverted from their purpose by finding on the road some Austrian baggage, which they hastened to pillage. The Piedmontese, hearing of the events of Genoa, prest the siege of Savona with such vigour, that they forced the place to surrender.

The government of Genoa were not a little perplexed with their own victory. Rejoicing in the liberty of their country, and yet fearing the result, they resolved to send Francis Doria to England, who was directed to lay the blame of the tumult on the insolence of the Austrian

* Bonamici, lib. iii. p. 2.

1746. soldiery, on the one part; and the undirected violence of the people, on the other. If they hoped, however, that their cause would excite the sympathy of the king of a free state, they were mistaken: George the Second refused to receive their envoy, out of deference to his ally. Spinola, their ambassador at Vienna, was at the same time ordered to quit that court. The Genoese had, therefore, no other resource than to press the Bourbon kings for succours of money and regular troops.

The treasury of the republic had been completely emptied by the exactions of the Austrians. But the doge, addressing the lesser council, exhorted them, by the love they bore their country, to sacrifice their private fortunes for the good of the state. "Their ancestors had equipped great fleets and numerous armies, to increase the territory of the state beyond the seas; would not they make some exertion to prevent the very name of the republic from being destroyed? To defend, not distant possessions, but the houses in which they dwelt, and the walls by which they were protected from their enemies? For his own part, he was resolved to sacrifice every thing, even his life, to the republic." In conformity with these sentiments, he sent his plate to be coined for the benefit of the state. Others of the nobles, particularly Gavotti and Joseph Durazzo, made large sacrifices for the same purpose. The matrons sent their jewels to the public treasury.*

* Bonamici. Life of the Doge Brignole-Sale, by the present Marquess of Brignole-Sale.

The people who had made the revolution preserved for some time the authority which they had acquired. But when the danger was past, this power degenerated into license: the houses of all who were said to be disaffected were pillaged, and public spirit was assumed as a veil for private robbery. Presently the citizens began to suspect those whom they had themselves chosen as their leaders, and brought them bound to the senate, calling for their punishment. The senate, with equal prudence and mildness, affected to accept the charge, in order to deliver these victims from popular fury. Four of the most beloved of the nobles were given to the democracy as their chiefs. This arrangement sufficed for a time; but some agitators persuading the people they were betrayed, raised a sedition of serious appearance. The conduct of Lomellini, however, and the returning sense of the citizens themselves, soon put an end to the tumult: the agitators were executed, and the city became tranquil. By degrees, the senate, with the general consent, resumed the power which the democracy had shewn itself unable to exercise with firmness and discretion. Of all the holders of power, none are so ready to abdicate from a sense of their own incapacity, as a sovereign people.

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The news of the revolt of Genoa gave a turn to the war. Brown, despairing of the capture of Antibes, retreated beyond the Var. On the other hand, new resolutions were taken at Madrid and Versailles. The counsellors of Ferdinand began to repent of the facility with which they had allowed Italy to be lost. The King of France, on his part, dismissed D'Argenson from his

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councils, and sent Count Belleisle to replace Maillebois. The French and Spanish army had recruited their strength, but the setting in of winter prevented further operations.

The people of Genoa employed this interval in repairing their old fortifications; they likewise procured provisions by giving rewards to the masters of vessels who evaded the English fleet. They were informed, to their great joy, that the King of France had ordered 6000 men to be sent to their assistance, and they expected the arrival of these troops with the utmost anxiety. For a long time their hope was deferred; and when, at length, the transports sailed from Marseilles, many were taken by the English, many were forced to run into other ports; the commander, however, reached Genoa in safety; and, in time, the greater part of the troops assembled within the city.

The command of the Austrian army was given to Count Schulemburg. Early in the spring he prepared to besiege Genoa. The first operations of the Austrians met with little resistance. They entered the valley of Polcevere, and extending themselves round the city took possession of the Diamante mountains.

After some trifling encounters, Schulemburg sent a flag of truce to Genoa, to inform the government, that as soon as the heavy cannon arrived, he should bombard the city; but before coming to that extremity, he earnestly exhorted them to submit to the clemency of the empress. The Genoese replied, that every state, as well as every individual, had the right of using arms for its

own defence; that Genoa had not resisted till it was impossible to submit any longer with honour; that having taken the determination to hold their city against a siege, they were prepared for the calamities which that resolution might bring upon them. 1747.

Various skirmishes took place, some nearer, some further from the city. Voltri surrendered to the Austrians, was delivered, and again taken and pillaged by the Piedmontese. Camerario, a young man of the highest merit, was killed in a sally which he led. Sixty feluccas, from Monaco, effected their passage to Genoa in spite of the English fleet, whose large ships could not prevent the ingress of these light vessels. The Duke of Boufflers May. arrived from France to command the French and encourage the Genoese: he was received with acclamations, and his example gave new spirit to the defence.

Schulemburg, after some unsuccessful attempts on the side of Polcevere, resolved to make his attack in the opposite direction. Covering his movement by a feint assault against the troops upon the Due Fratelli, he carried the main body into the valley of the Sturla: the Swiss posted in that quarter gave way, and the Austrian pickets reached to the proximity of Albaro, looking down on the valley of the Bisagno; their left on the valley of the Sturla, and the right at the convent of the Camalduli. They mounted cannon on a tower near the sea, and thus, acting in concert with the English fleet, prevented succours from reaching the town.

On the other hand, Belleisle sent his brother, the chevalier, to take Ventimiglia, which he accomplished.

1747. This news, with that of his further advance, conveyed to the King of Sardinia, induced him to order the siege of Genoa to be relinquished. Schulemburg divided his army, and retired, declaring he could have taken the place.

July. Boufflers died on the very day of the breaking up of the siege. A monument was ordered to be erected to his memory, and his family were allowed to quarter the arms of the republic.

Thus ended the siege of Genoa. During its continuance the city had enrolled from 20 to 30,000 men. The livery-servants of the nobility willingly took arms, and were among this number. This spirit of the inhabitants prevented the capture of the city; and, perhaps, the extinction of the republic.

Marshal Belleisle had formed a plan for penetrating into Piedmont by Exilles; and, notwithstanding an opposition from Las Minas, so strong as to make a breach between them, he persisted in his project. The army was divided into three columns, and had they all arrived at the same time, the Piedmontese would have retreated; but the officer who commanded, of the name of Brigueras, seeing a single column arrive at the foot of the steep pass at which he was posted, resolved, though against orders, to defend it. For two hours his soldiers fired down upon the French troops, who, with all their courage, could neither carry the position nor return with any effect the fire of the Piedmontese. After a dreadful carnage, the attempt was given up: the loss of the French amounted to 4000 men killed and 2000 wounded: the Chevalier de Belleisle himself was among the killed.

The loss of the Piedmontese was not more than 100 men.* 1747.

Let us now return to the affairs of Flanders, and the centre of the war.

A fresh opening for negotiation was made this year. Negotiations. When General Ligonier was taken prisoner, he was received in the French camp with all the marks of distinction which it was possible to shew to one of the highest rank. Lewis himself ordered that he should be entertained at the quarters of Marshal Saxe. When there, the marshal, in the course of several confidential discourses, told him that the king did not love war; that he, the marshal, as little cared to continue it; that the whole French nation hated him; that, were a single misfortune to befall him, the king himself could not protect him; that he had already all the honour he could desire, and all the rewards for his services that he wished, or the king could grant. That, in this situation, broken as he was too in constitution, General Ligonier would believe that he must wish for peace, and he could add, that he knew his master did so too. After several conversations of this nature, the marshal proposed, on the part of the king, that General Ligonier should return to the Duke of Cumberland, and should assure his royal highness, in his name, of his desire to put an end to the war, which he thought could not but be done by them two at the head of their respective armies; that he knew the *droiture* of the duke too well to imagine he would engage in any thing without his allies; but as

* Hist. des Guerres en Italie.

1747. the troops would probably remain in a state of inaction, there would be time for his royal highness to receive the opinion of his allies, and he doubted not they would wisely trust their interests in his hands; to this he added many compliments to the duke. As to the terms, Marshal Saxe said the King of France looked for nothing for himself; that he would be willing to restore all Flanders, as it then was, excepting Furnes, which he should expect to keep, if England insisted on the total demolition of Dunkirk; but if that harbour was allowed to remain in its actual condition, he would ask nothing but the restitution of Cape Breton. That Genoa ought to be restored (if taken) to the republic, and the Duke of Modena reinstated in his own dominions. That Spain must be considered and included.

The king and the Duke of Cumberland were willing to enter into negotiation upon these fair and reasonable propositions; but the Prince of Orange protested warmly against them. Much deliberation took place in England. A proposal made in the cabinet, that the duke should be authorised to open the outlines of peace to the French, was over-ruled by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke: at length it was resolved to reply, that as soon as France should explain herself with precision upon the points of treaty, the king would send a minister to treat, under the inspection of the duke.*

After some time had elapsed in these delays, Lord

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole. Mr. Pelham to Hor. Walpole, July 30. Bedford papers. Duke of Newcastle to Duke of Bedford, Aug. 1.

Sandwich was empowered to treat on the part of Great Britain, and conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle. 1747.

Thus nothing being decided with regard to peace, the two parties made vigorous preparations for war. After some violent altercations between the empress queen and the English ministry, who complained that she did not furnish her contingent in the Netherlands, a new convention for the year 1748 was concluded at the Hague. The empress queen agreed to furnish 60,000 men in the Low Countries; Great Britain and Holland 6000 each. In Italy the empress queen was to furnish 60,000, and the King of Sardinia 30,000. Great Britain was to pay the empress queen a subsidy of 400,000*l.*, of which one-fourth was to be deducted if the contingents were not complete before the end of April; a further subsidy was given to the King of Sardinia upon a like condition. England and Holland, moreover, by a treaty signed on the 30th of November, agreed to take into their pay 30,000 Russian auxiliaries, who commenced their march towards the Netherlands before the end of the year. In order to prevent any new diversion on the side of Prussia, the Duke of Newcastle prevailed on the king, in spite of his natural antipathy to Frederic, to send a confidential person to his court, to assure him that England and Holland would stand by him *against any power whatever* that should attempt to disturb him in the possession of Silesia.* Preparations for the campaign.

Notwithstanding these preparations, there was a party in the English cabinet strongly inclined to an immediate 1748.

* Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Bedford, Jan. 7, 1748.

1748. peace. Lord Chesterfield was one of the most urgent of these; Mr. Pelham likewise, as first lord of the Treasury, spoke of the absolute inability of the country to carry on the war.* On the other hand, Lord Sandwich was incessant in his representations for a continuance of hostilities; he urged that the French navy was ruined, the French credit nearly so; that on land the allies were not worse off than last year; and that the 30,000 Russians about to arrive would enable the Duke of Cumberland to take the field at the head of an overwhelming force. These arguments had great weight with his friend the Duke of Bedford, who repeated them to the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle, in his ambiguous language, replied, "I own, if we have the force your grace mentions, and I think we shall certainly have it, I can scarce foresee any probability of an event which can prevent our having at least as good a peace, and perhaps a better, at the end of the campaign, than that which is now offered, and some would now accept."† In February these differences came to a crisis. Lord Chesterfield, unable to make his notions prevail, had for some time wrapt himself in reserve, and never avowed an opinion in the closet contrary to the sentiments of the king; but this did not save him from mortifying proofs of his want of influence. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who was minister at Dresden, wished to take part in the conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle, and for that purpose wrote a letter to Lord Chesterfield, which he,

* Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Bedford, Jan. 27, 1748.

† Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Bedford, Feb. 5, 1748.

with a view of promoting the object of the application, laid before the king. The king read the letter with attention, and returned it without saying a word. Lord Chesterfield asked what answer his Majesty commanded him to give: the king said, "whatever you please." Lord Chesterfield asked whether that meant that his Majesty was pleased to grant the request: the king answered, "nothing like it." Lord Chesterfield then gave various reasons in favour of the appointment, to all which he had no other answer but that bow which was the usual signal to leave the closet.*

Disgusted with many similar slights, Lord Chesterfield at length taking occasion to complain that the Duke of Newcastle carried on a private correspondence with Lord Sandwich, whose mission was in his department, threw up his office, and for a time occasioned some embarrassment to the ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Duke of Bedford, wished to bring in Lord Sandwich, which the pacific part of the cabinet violently opposed. Lord Anson proposed, as a compromise, that the Duke of Bedford should take the seals; and that Lord Sandwich should be first lord of the Admiralty, a post which he had long coveted. The Duke of Bedford was told that this was the only manner in which he could bring his friend Lord Sandwich into the cabinet; and this arrangement was finally agreed upon.†

While the English cabinet discussed the propriety of

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxxiv.

† Bedford Papers.

1748. making peace, the generals of France arranged manoeuvres which decided the question. Marshal Noailles and Marshal Saxe concerted a plan for beginning the campaign with the siege of Maestricht, which the gain of two battles had not yet enabled them to effect. Marshal Lowendahl was directed to ascend the Meuse, cross at Namur, and, marching down the right bank of the river, surprise the Austrians, who were cantoned separately in that part of the country. Marshal Saxe, on the other side, made demonstrations towards Breda, which obliged the Dutch to keep a large part of their troops in that direction. On a sudden, he himself crossed the Meuse without resistance, and invested Maestricht. The Duke of Cumberland, who was at the Hague, upon receiving this intelligence, assembled his army, and took post at Roermond; but the whole force he could muster amounted to only 35,000 men, while Marshal Saxe had under his command no less than 80,000.

The conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle wore, from the first, a promising appearance. The French minister gave up the demand of Furnes; but insisted on fortifying Dunkirk on the land side; saying, that France had yielded that point after an unsuccessful war, and had a right to carry it after a successful one. He likewise insisted on an establishment for Don Philip, and on Finale being retained by the republic of Genoa.

April 7.

The negotiations were at this point when M. Wasner and Count Flemming, on the part of Holland, had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, at Newcastle House. Count Flemming said that the French had no

thoughts or intention of asking to fortify Dunkirk on the sea side, but desired not to have commissioners to inspect them, as they thought such a condition dishonourable to France. M. Wasner urged that Maestricht could not be relieved, and that Holland would then be entirely open to French conquest. He wished the Duke of Cumberland should be asked whether, supposing Maestricht taken, he could defend the frontiers of Holland against the French army. If the answer should be negative, he, as a private person, advised that orders should be sent to Lord Sandwich to sign preliminaries, leaving Finale to Genoa. Upon this communication, the king and his ministers agreed to follow the advice given by M. Wasner.

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On the other hand, the French were induced to moderation by the advance of the Russian army, which in the course of a short time might be expected in Flanders. Such being the disposition of the two parties, the preliminaries were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, with extraordinary expedition. Maestricht was to be surrendered to the French, for form's sake, and immediately restored. The other articles will come under review in discussing the definitive treaty.

April.
Signature of
preliminaries.

While the negotiations had been carried on so prosperously at Aix-la-Chapelle, the empress queen, ever tenacious of her purpose, renewed, with increased vigour, her preparations against Genoa. An army of 40,000 men was assembled in the valley of the Taro: it was resolved to invest the capital of the republic on every side, and, if possible, cut off all supplies. The Duke of Richelieu, who

1748. had been sent by the King of France to replace Boufflers, while, under pretence of keeping up the spirits of the Genoese, he gave way to his usual love of magnificence and pleasure, yet at the same time shewed great activity in conducting the defence. A fort, to the east of the city, still bears his name. He likewise made attempts on Savona and Campo-fredolo, which, however, were unsuccessful. The Austrians attempted to possess themselves of two of the gates of the town. But in the midst of these contests, news arrived of the signature of the preliminaries. The English admiral sent one of his captains on shore to inform the senate of the cessation of hostilities, and, at the same time, to compliment the Genoese on the valour they had shewn in defence of their independence.*

The chief obstacles to the conclusion of the definitive treaty arose from the conduct of Austria. Although she had consented to the preliminaries, her minister, Count Kaunitz, refused to sign a general treaty, or to accept of the towns in Austrian Flanders. Some delay was occasioned by the artifice he used in the negotiation. He always declared he had no authority to sign without reference to his superiors; and when recourse was had to Vienna, the answer returned was, that the whole affair was placed in the hands of Count Kaunitz. In this dilemma, it was proposed to place Austrian Flan-

* What regards the war in Italy has been chiefly taken from Castrucci Bonamici, *Commentarii de Bello Italico*.

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ders in the hands of the maritime powers, as a deposit. To this, France refused to consent; and proposed, on her side, to keep the towns till news should arrive of the English having restored their captures in the other parts of the world. This plan was evidently inadmissible: the English commanders had, in all probability, destroyed and laid waste the places they had taken; so that France would then have had the whole Netherlands in her hands, until England should pay any indemnity she might choose to demand. Some expedient it was necessary to find. Lord Sandwich, Count Bentinck, and even the English ministers at home, were inclined to look for this expedient in an arrangement with France, independent of Austria. But the Duke of Newcastle, who was strongly disposed to the ancient alliance, was anxious, almost at any cost, to make the empress queen a party to the treaty. There was a sum of 100,000*l.* claimed by Austria, as the remaining part of the last subsidy. The Duke of Bedford, in conjunction with Mr. Pelham and Lord Hardwicke, strongly objected to the payment of this sum: they urged that the very condition of the payment was that Austria should have her complete contingent of 60,000 men in the Netherlands; whereas, in fact, she had not brought into the field half the number: that this failure on her part was the sole justification of the sudden signature of the preliminaries; and that it would be impossible to go before parliament with such a justification in the one hand, and in the other a demand for money, founded on the supposition of the complete fulfilment of her engagements by the court of Vienna.

1748. The Duke of Bedford concluded, by saying, he never, could set his name to such an agreement. Newcastle, however, thinking it better to be defrauded of 100,000*l.* than to lose the co-operation of Austria in the conclusion of the work, overcame these difficulties: the money was paid; and probably, for the most part, found its way into the pockets of the Austrian ministers. The difficulty which France had made with regard to delivering up the fortresses, was got over by the offer of two English peers as hostages, till news should arrive of the surrender of the captures in the East or West Indies. It was found, indeed, that the King of England could not lawfully engage to give as hostages two peers of parliament; but the French were satisfied with a promise that the hostages should be persons of high rank. Some other obstacles were soon disposed of. Count Kaunitz, whose dispositions, as will be hereafter seen, were greatly against the British alliance, proposed that England should bear some part of the expense of the Barrier. But this the English ministry positively refused to agree to.

Definitive
treaty,
Oct. 18.

All obstacles being now smoothed, the definitive treaty between Great Britain, France, the Emperor, Empress Queen, Spain, Sardinia, Holland, Genoa, and the Duke of Modena, was signed on the 18th of October, 1748. The ruling principle on which it was formed, was that of mutual restitution. I. The empress queen (Art. 6) was to be replaced in possession of all that she held in the Low Countries, and elsewhere, before the commencement of the war, except in so far as should be otherwise provided in the present treaty. Holland, Genoa, the

King of Sardinia, and the Duke of Modena, were likewise to be restored to all the possessions they held before the war. The King of Sardinia to have the part of the Vigevenasco and Pavese he had conquered. II. In consequence of the restitutions made by the King of France, the duchies of Parma, Plasencia, and Guastalla, were to belong to the Infant Don Philip, (Art. 8); and to descend to his heirs male. III. The fortresses in the Low Countries were to be restored in six weeks; and until news should be received of the restitution of Cape Breton, two persons of rank and consideration were to be delivered as hostages to the King of France (Art. 9). Lord Sussex and Lord Cathcart were sent in compliance with this condition, and remained in France till July 1749. IV. All the powers guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of 1713, respecting the dominions of the late emperor, Charles the Sixth. V. The fifth article of the quadruple alliance, relating to the guaranty of the succession to the throne of Great Britain, and the removal of the pretender from France, was renewed. VI. The Assiento contract was to continue for the four years during which its enjoyment had been lost by the breaking out of the war.

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All the powers who had plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle acceded to the treaty. The accession of Spain was given on the 20th October; and that of the empress queen on the 23d of the same month.

A congress was held at Nice, for the settlement of the affairs of Italy. By the definitive arrangement, the King of Sardinia obtained all that was given to him by the treaty of Worms, with the exception of Plasencia

1748. and Finale; and as to Plasencia, it was agreed, that if Don Carlos should succeed to the crown of Spain, Plasencia should be his.

Observations
on the peace.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it is manifest, was the work of England and France alone; the other powers merely acceded to what their principals had done. It may be well, then, before we conclude, to attend to the observations made upon it in these two countries.

In England, generally, the peace was well received: the recovery of the whole of Flanders and the Barrier towns, by peace, when they had been so nearly lost by war, was an event more desired than expected. Such a result was cheaply bought, it was generally said, by the restitution of the new conquest of Cape Breton, and the establishment for Don Philip in Italy. The only points on which much difference of opinion arose, were the fortifications of Dunkirk, and the omission of any articles in the treaty with Spain, relative to the right of search. With respect to the first point, it was remarked by the friends of the peace, that the harbour of Dunkirk, so great an object of jealousy to England, no longer afforded any certain retreat against an enemy to men-of-war, or even privateers; that formerly the French had two long piers, which stretched far into the sea, and were terminated by forts; that these forts had not existed during the late war; and that by the treaty of peace, not only they could not be restored, but all fortifications towards the sea were to be destroyed.*

* Debate on the harbour of Dunkirk, February 5, 1750. Speech of Mr. H. Walpole, sen.

With regard to the second point, the silence of the treaty had, no doubt, an unfavourable appearance; nor, perhaps, would it have been difficult, seeing the disposition of France, to have inserted in it some article concerning the freedom of commerce; yet the defence of Mr. Pelham was rational and solid. He urged, that the question was of so intricate and complicated a nature, that it was not fit to delay, on this account, a peace common to various powers. A general provision, though plausible, and perhaps popular, would, in reality, have been useless, or might have led to fresh disputes; and a reference of the question to commissaries, was the substance of the convention so greatly blamed in 1739. The angry and mischievous discussions in parliament, at that time, were a warning not to make this a fresh subject of debate. It was thought better, therefore, to leave this point to the prudence and pacific disposition of the two powers. "Although," said Mr. Pelham, "the court of Spain might not, perhaps, be prevailed upon to give up in express terms their pretended right to seize and search all ships they suspect of having carried on an illicit trade on their coasts in America, any more than we would give up our right to search and seize all ships upon our own coasts, which we suspect of being concerned in the unlawful exportation of our wool; yet, while we are united amongst ourselves, I am convinced the court of Spain will take care not to allow their guarda-costas to make an unjust use of this right. If they should act otherwise, they will not be permitted to do so with impunity."* Thus the only security for

* Debates, Parliamentary History, Nov. 29, 1748; Feb. 5, 1750.

1748. peace rested on the presumed moderation of the government of Spain; and as the dispute never was renewed, we may conclude that this security was not a bad one. Had Sir Robert Walpole been the author of the peace, indeed, it would not have been difficult to have demolished with ridicule and invective a treaty which gave no more guaranty at the end of a war than existed before its beginning; but that quarrel had gone by. Mr. William Pitt, the great utterer of those invectives, in a speech delivered eighteen months after the conclusion of peace, said, "If there be any secret in the late conduct of the affairs of Europe, it is in the question, how it was possible for our ministers to obtain so good a peace as they did: for I must confess, that when the French laid siege to Maestricht, in the beginning of 1748, I had such a gloomy prospect of affairs, that I thought it next to impossible to preserve our friends the Dutch from the imminent ruin they were then threatened with, or to maintain the present emperor upon the imperial throne. And if the Dutch had been ruined, and the emperor dispossessed, this nation would have been so far from being in a condition to insist upon what it had a right to ask, that we must have yielded to every demand our enemies might have been pleased to make."* A lesson to a nation not to lend their voices too readily to applaud the orator who incites them to war!

The opinions of the King of France upon this treaty may be collected from a letter which Lewis addressed to the King of Spain, upon the signature of the prelimi-

* Parliamentary History, debate on the fortifications of Dunkirk.

naries. After announcing that intelligence, it continues in the following terms:

1748.

“Your majesty knows that for several years we have lost all hope of the fulfilment of those objects which I and the late catholic king, my uncle, had proposed to ourselves. I have led and commanded in person forces capable of striking the most decisive blows at the powers whom it was most our interest to inspire with the want and wish of peace. Events have favoured us in the Low Countries, but unfortunately in Germany and in Italy, and in consequence of the losses sustained by the shipping and the commerce of the two crowns, our conquests have only served to multiply our enemies and our misfortunes, and to make me lose the allies I had. Your majesty has only to reflect a moment upon the forces which are expected to unite against me: 40,000 Russians on the one hand; on the other, the troops of almost all the princes of the empire: these redoubled efforts would not perhaps have affected me, if I had not made discoveries which I cannot reveal, and which convince me, that I must expect to see assembled against me forces which my kingdom would have been unable to resist. The restitutions which I make, and the very little advantage which I derive from this peace, will sufficiently inform your majesty, that pity for my people, and a sense of religion, have had much more influence with me on this occasion than a spirit of aggrandisement. I am persuaded your majesty has equally at heart the state of your subjects, to whom the present war has not been less costly either in blood or money, than it has to mine, and that you

1748. will think their repose is preferable to any thing we might add to the lustre of our crowns, even if our subjects should be able to furnish us with means in proportion to their zeal and love for us.”*

There were some, however, who regretted the loss of Flanders. Marshal Saxe said, “It was a good morsel, and he did not like to let go of it: if the King of Prussia could keep Silesia, the King of France, with so much greater means, ought to have been able to keep the Low Countries. Holland, which is the right arm of England, our natural enemy, might have been destroyed as a power, and those rich merchants ruined for ever. What advantage has France derived from so many victories, so many successful sieges, so many illustrious deaths? Her enemies have retained their power; she alone has exhausted herself; she has a million of subjects less, and her finances are in a disorder scarcely to be repaired.”†

These murmurs reached the ears of Lewis, who, in his usual short and sarcastic manner observed, “I recognise in this language the style of a generalissimo; their politics are always charged with red-hot shot.”‡ The Count of St. Severin, in a memoir to the king, undertook to refute these complaints: “The conquest of Holland did not enter into the plan of the war; it was not to destroy the republic, but to reduce her to fair terms of peace, that

* Flassan, tom. v. p. 406.

† Marshal Saxe to Count Maurepas. Lett. de Saxe, tom. v. p. 269. Flassan, tom. v. p. 427.

‡ Flassan.

sieges had been made and battles fought: had Holland been subdued, this useless conquest would only have been the source of new embarrassment to France. Europe in a body would have declared war against her: jealousy of the House of Bourbon is the prevailing passion among the principal powers; and they would gladly have embraced the opportunity of striking a great blow. But what, above all, made peace necessary, was the disorder of the finances, the depopulation of the state, and the scarcity of food. The comptroller-general had declared that he knew not where to find money to continue the war; the intendants of the provinces had informed the minister that it was impossible to recruit the militia; and the intendant of Guyenne had written that his province was on the eve of a famine." 1748.

These reasons will satisfy moderate men that both England and France did well to make peace, and that the conditions were not, upon the whole, unequal. This, it may be observed, is all that should be required by any people of their governors: to continue a bloody and costly war, for the chance of obtaining a petty fortress, or an insignificant island the more, is a barbarous sacrifice of human life, and an improvident waste of national resources.

There were two faults, however, in this peace, which did not attract attention; while, as it often happens, the critics of the day threw away their anger upon objections of no real importance. The first is the fault of the English ministers, who, in their anxiety to get over present difficulties, overlooked the source of future embarrassment. Maria Theresa, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was confirmed, by solemn guaranty, in the possession,

1748. with the exception of Silesia, Plasencia, and Parma, of all those territories which her enemies had conspired to deprive her of. Yet her anger at the cessions in Italy outweighed every other consideration; she refused to speak to the British minister, Mr. Keene, on the subject of the peace; and when it was concluded, intimated that she expected compliments of condolence instead of congratulation. This ill humour broke forth on the subject of the Barrier towns. As the fortifications of many of these had been destroyed by the French, the empress queen positively refused to specify the Barrier treaty among those which were to be renewed, or to pay the subsidy to the Dutch for the maintenance of the garrisons which that treaty stipulated. The English ministers as positively refused to take any part of the burden on themselves, and left this important point for future discussion.* Thus the maintenance of the Barrier was rendered precarious, and the power on whom that care had hitherto devolved was so greatly irritated and offended, that no reliance could for the future be placed on her defence of the Low Countries against France. The consequences of this alienation were in the course of a few years but too conspicuous.

The blame of the second fault attaches to the ministers both of England and France: it was that of referring to commissioners the task of marking the limits of Canada. A point which, taken along with many others, might easily have been arranged, became, when left by itself,

* House of Austria, p. 108.

and disputed by adverse parties, the source of dangerous and angry difference. A line on the map might have saved a war.

1748.

The peace was no sooner concluded, than the powers lately engaged in hostilities began to reduce their armies. The French were the first to make a large and rapid diminution of their military force. In England, Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Bedford were most anxious on this subject. The latter, in a private letter to the Duke of Newcastle, thus expresses himself: "I think the salvation of this country depends upon strictly following the most rigid system of frugality and economy, without which, I fear this nation will be little able to defend her own liberties, much less the liberties of Europe; and must inevitably fall a sacrifice to the ambition of France, who, it is not to be doubted, will take advantage of the present breathing time, to re-establish her navy, renew her commerce, and put her finances upon the best footing, by making seasonable and proper reductions in all her military expenses. This we have seen already begun by her; and should this country, on the other hand, continue the expenses of war in time of peace, how little able shall we be in any future emergency to withstand any attempts she may make upon us?"* This opinion prevailing in the cabinet, large reductions in the expenses were made by England as well as France.

One of the most peremptory conditions of the peace

* Duke of Bedford to the Duke of Newcastle, October 4, 1748.
Private and secret.

1748.
The young
pretender
sent out of
France.

remained to be fulfilled. Prince Charles Stuart, requested and almost entreated by the King of France to yield with a good grace to necessity, obstinately refused to leave Paris, made his house an armory, and threatened that he would blow out the brains of any man who should dare to arrest him. On the 10th of December, 1748, as he entered the narrow passage leading into the Opera-House, he was seized by a sergeant of the guards in disguise, who held his arms behind him to prevent his using his weapons. A sword, a dagger, and two pistols, were taken from his person. He was conveyed to Vincennes, and shortly afterwards sent out of France. This conduct towards an unfortunate prince, however necessary, naturally excited much indignation. The people repeated, addressing Lewis,

“ Il est roi dans les fers ; qu’êtes-vous sur le trône ? ”

Summary of
the war.

In concluding the account of this war, it may be as well to recapitulate its causes, its course, and its termination. Hostilities commenced between England and Spain in consequence of mutual injuries, which might have been repaired by convention, had not personal animosity to Sir Robert Walpole blinded the self-styled patriots of England to the true interest of their country. Soon a general continental war disturbed all the states of Europe: the heiress of the House of Austria was young; the government was decrepit; and neighbouring powers thought they might safely plunder the succession of Charles the Sixth. Frederick of Prussia, in the confidence that his fellow-sovereigns were animated by the same spirit of robbery as himself,

was the first to fasten his talons on the prey; France, Spain, and Bavaria, gathered like vultures to the spoil. England came to the assistance of her ancient ally; Maria Theresa displayed an unconquerable spirit; and the war was carried on with various, but not unequal, fortune. The laurels of Dettingen were won back in the field of Fontenoy; the campaigns of Italy were successful in turn to each contending party. England, after a struggle, drove the Stuart invader away; and her throne, which rested on the will of the people, was more secure than before. At length fortune seemed to have chosen her side: the French were irresistible in Flanders, and the English at sea. Had the same tide continued, Lewis would have made himself master of Holland, and George the Second would have captured perhaps all the colonies and settlements of France. But a Russian army was on its way to the Low Countries, and a disaster at sea might have arrested the conquests of Great Britain. 1748.

In this situation, the exhaustion of the finances both of France and England put an end to hostilities. Lewis the Fourteenth would not, however, in such a situation, have parted with Flanders; nor would Lord Carteret, at the head of the English ministry, have desisted from the pursuit of projects against France, the offspring rather of national hatred than of sound policy. The moderation of Lewis the Fifteenth, and the temper of the English ministry, made peace reasonable and easy. Lewis renounced conquests which would have caused perpetual jealousy to the maritime powers; and England, having

1748. proved her naval superiority, gave up an acquisition which opened to her the gates of Canada. But Maria Theresa was dissatisfied, and vowed revenge on the power which had delivered her from destruction.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

*Domestic History of England — Administration of
Sir Robert Walpole.*

AFTER having devoted so large a space to the general 1716.
affairs of Europe, it will now be convenient to turn to
the domestic concerns of England, and to observe how the
Protestant succession, together with the legal liberties of
the subject, acquired a stability, which contributed at once
to the power of the nation abroad, and its happiness at
home.

Although the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the
alliance with France, and the passing of the Septennial
Bill, gave great strength to the new government, much
skill and attention were necessary before the German
dynasty could be successfully grafted on a British stock.
The king had arrived at a mature age in the direction
of a foreign court, and for some time was greatly influ-
enced by the statesmen and favourites he had brought
with him. Germany, at this period, was in a rude state
of society. The general conduct of the petty sovereigns
was to squeeze, by every means, from their subjects the
supplies which imperfect cultivation and a scanty trade
furnished with difficulty. Instead of imitating the refine-
ments of Lewis the Fourteenth, or the amenity of the more
polished nations of Europe, they had forgotten the rude

1716. virtues of their ancestors, without learning the courtesies of civilisation.* While the princes were, generally speaking, harsh, proud, and rapacious, their ministers were divided by a thousand jealousies and hatreds, subservient only to the common passion of pushing their own fortunes, in preference to every motive of honour, or duty of patriotism.

Court of
George the
First.

Although the personal character of George the First was far above the common standard, his court can hardly be said to furnish an exception to the general rule. He was surrounded by three ministers and two mistresses. Of the ministers, Baron Bothmar had been the king's principal agent in England during the latter years of Queen Anne, and had been the instrument of raising Townshend to the post of secretary of state. Count Bernsdorf, of an illustrious family and considerable talents, had been opposed to the elector's acceptance of the crown, and was jealous of the superior importance of England. Robethon, who was descended from a French refugee, had been private secretary to King William, and had afterwards been confidentially employed by the Elector of Hanover in fostering and managing his connexions in England: he was notoriously venal. Of the mistresses, the first in station and favour was the Duchess of Munster, afterwards Duchess of Kendal, whom the king is supposed to have espoused with the left hand; a kind of transaction which appears to be marriage in the church, and concubinage by the law. But as it is uncertain whether George was ever divorced from

* Hist. de mon Temps, tom. i.

his wife, so likewise it is doubtful whether he ever was married to his mistress.* She was neither handsome nor clever; so little so, that the Electress Sophia, whose maid of honour she was, once said to Mrs. Howard, when she was in waiting, "Only think of that maukin being my son's passion."† But she had a kind of foolish good-nature, which made her society a repose to the king. A sister of Frederic the Second says of her, that "she was so good, she was not good for any thing."‡ She had great influence in the government, which she generally sold for money to the best bidder. The other mistress, Countess Platen, who became a peeress of Great Britain, by the title of Countess of Darlington, had a greater share of beauty and wit than her rival, but as much rapacity and more malice.

The affairs of England were in the hands of Lord Mr. Walpole. Townshend and Mr. Walpole. The character of Lord Townshend has been already given. Mr. Robert Walpole, his brother-in-law, was the heir of an ancient family in Norfolk, whose estate was not large, but whose influence could return sometimes two, and always one member to parliament. Mr. Walpole had entered the House of Commons in 1700; and although at first but an indifferent speaker, he rose, during the whig ministry, by his judgement and ability, to be intrusted, as secretary at war, with the management of the House of Commons, and to be treated with entire confidence by Marlborough in the disputes which arose with the queen.§

* Lord Orford, Reminiscences.

† Ibid.

‡ Mem. de Bareith.

§ Coxe's Walpole.

1716. The fall of the Whigs, while it deprived him of power, gave him increase of fame: accused, (as his friends thought unjustly,) of malversation of public money, he was expelled the House of Commons, and sent to the Tower, where he was visited and applauded by his whole party. On the formation of George's first ministry, he was paymaster of the forces, and manager of the House of Commons: on the death of Halifax he became first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

Position of
the ministry.

Townshend and Walpole were placed in a situation of great embarrassment. Not only had they to withstand the open attacks of the Tories, but likewise the secret enmity of many of their fellow-whigs. The chief of these was the Earl of Sunderland, who, after playing so great a part in the late reign, was not to be satisfied with any thing less than the supreme direction of the government. His ambition was but scantily fed by the lord lieutenancy of Ireland; and he anxiously watched for an opportunity to overthrow his successful rivals. The Hanoverian ministers and favourites were ready to join in any cabal for this purpose; their extreme rapacity and venality had roused the indignation and provoked the remonstrances of the brother ministers. One day, in the presence of the king, Walpole was so angry at the unfounded assertion of one of these persons, (probably Robethon), that he exclaimed with heat, "Mentiris impudentissime." In order to account for the use of these Latin terms, it is necessary to say, that Walpole not being able to speak French, and George the First not understanding English, all their intercourse, down to the time of the king's death, took place in the Latin language.

An opportunity for inflaming the king against his ministers, however, took place, when the king shewed a desire to visit Hanover. They, indeed, suggested to the House of Commons, through one of their friends, the propriety of repealing the restrictive clause, which prevented the king's quitting the kingdom without the consent of parliament, and an act was obtained for that purpose. But such was the jealousy which George entertained of his son, that he wished to place the prince in a commission of regency, and to fetter him with restrictions: the privy council, on searching for precedents, however, finding "no instance of persons being joined in commission with the Prince of Wales, and few if any restrictions, were of opinion that the constant tenour of ancient practice could not be conveniently receded from." The king thus advised, instead of appointing his son regent, made him guardian of the realm and lieutenant, an office which had not been in force since Edward the Black Prince. Townshend and Walpole remained at home, while Secretary Stanhope followed the king to Hanover; Sunderland, thinking the time was come when his intrigues might be successful, after many professions of amity to Walpole, likewise went abroad, and soon joined the Hanoverian court.

1716.

King's journey to Hanover, July.

The brother ministers endeavoured so to demean themselves, "that neither those who would misrepresent them to the king for making their court too much to the prince, nor those who would hurt them with the prince for doing it too little, should have any advantage over them." "But

1716. this is a game," adds Walpole, "not to be managed without difficulty." In fine, Sunderland having gained over Secretary Stanhope, the confidential friend of the Walpoles, at length, by the most refined intrigue, obtained an order for Townshend to resign the seals, accompanied with an offer of the lieutenancy of Ireland. This office he at first rejected; but at length, at the earnest request of the king, consented to accept.

Dismissal of
Townshend,
December.

1717. The breach which had been made in the ministry, however, was not to be filled up in this manner. Soon after the meeting of parliament, on the question of a supply for the war against Sweden, the ministerial majority dwindled to four voices; Walpole remaining silent while his colleagues were in danger. The consequence was the dismissal of Townshend and the resignation of Walpole.

April 9.

Resignation
of Walpole.

The king was so reluctant to part with the latter, that he ten times returned the seals, and only yielded at length with the most evident pain. Great changes followed. The Duke of Devonshire resigned the office of president of the council, and Lord Orford that of first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Stanhope was made first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Sunderland and Mr. Addison secretaries of state; the Duke of Bolton lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Sinking
Fund.

A scheme of great importance to the finances of the country had just been completed by Walpole at the time of his retirement from office. Although the general interest of money had been reduced by law to five per cent, and since the peace had sunk still lower in the market,

yet the national debt consisted, in part, of stock bearing an interest of six, seven, and even eight per cent. The whole amount, according to Dr. Hamilton, was 53,000,000*l.*; according to the accounts laid before parliament, the interest was 3,100,000*l.* Walpole proposed, in the first place, to borrow a sum of 600,000*l.*, bearing only four per cent interest, to pay off such of the national creditors, possessing redeemable stock, as should refuse to consent to a reduction of their interest to five per cent. By these means an annual surplus was obtained of 324,000*l.* He then proposed and carried a resolution in the House of Commons, that all savings which should arise from the reduction of interest should be applied towards discharging and diminishing the national debt. A second resolution, somewhat unnecessary, declared, that when the whole national debt should be paid off, the taxes applied to this purpose should cease. In presenting one of the bills on this subject to the house, he said, "I now present it as a country gentleman; but I hope it will not fare the worse for having two fathers, and that my successor will take care to bring it to perfection." Two years afterwards, in the act called the General Fund Act, it was provided, that the whole of the surplus acquired in consequence of the reduction of interest should be appropriated to the discharging the principal and interest of such debts as were incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, and are declared to be national debts, and to and for none other use, intent, or purpose, whatsoever.

1717.

March 23.

1717. These surpluses have ever since been known by the name of the Sinking Fund. Although provision had before been made by parliament for paying off particular debts, yet Walpole deserves the credit of having established the first general fund, consisting of a surplus revenue, for paying off the general debts of the nation. Exclusive of the direct payment of debt, the collateral advantages of this fund were very considerable: 1. It shewed a power in the country to answer all the demands of public faith or public security. 2. It supplied a fund for unforeseen expenses; and, without the necessity of new taxes, prevented the further accumulation of debt. 3. It covered the deficit caused by any unexpected failure in the revenue. 4. It gave a confidence to the national creditor, which has been of great value in all succeeding wars. Such were the benefits of the simple scheme proposed by Walpole: of the refinements brought into fashion at a later time, and the objections thence drawn to a sinking fund altogether, we may speak when the occasion arrives.

Vote for the
army.

The parliament met again on the 21st of November. Ten thousand men were voted for the navy; but the supply for the army did not meet with so easy a concurrence. Walpole, after some debate, proposed a reduction from 16,000 men to 12,000. The question was about to be put, when Shippen said, that the second paragraph of the speech from the throne seemed better calculated for the meridian of Germany than for that of Great Britain; and that it was an infelicity the king was unacquainted with our language and constitution. These

expressions raised a great tumult, and Shippen refusing to retract or explain his words, was committed to the Tower; a needless, if not impolitic, severity. The number of men proposed by the ministers was voted; but, on the report, the sum was altered, and the allowance for half-pay officers was reduced from 130,000*l.* to the very low sum of 90,000*l.* Walpole, taking a middle line between the ministers and their opponents, acquired great weight at this time in the House of Commons: his opinions were always heard with deference; and on questions of supply, particularly, his proposals were not unfrequently adopted. His biographer has referred with triumph, and not unreasonably, to these divisions, as a refutation of the vulgar charge that his subsequent influence in the House of Commons depended solely upon corruption.* On the other hand, however, his conduct at this time makes it impossible to acquit him of the charge of faction.

1717.

One of the chief debates of parliament took place on the Mutiny Bill. Mr. Hutchinson argued against the admission of courts-martial in a free country, and proposed that the offences committed by soldiers should be punished by the civil magistrate. He was ably supported by Walpole, who pointed out the abuse which might be made of the power of life and death, and used the remarkable expression, "He that gives the power of blood gives blood."† On the clause being put which enabled courts-martial to punish mutiny and desertion

1718.
The Mutiny
Bill.

* Coxe's Walpole, † Walpoliana.

1718. with death, there appeared 247 in favour of it, and 229 against it. It is said that, after the division, Walpole exclaimed, "Faith! I was afraid we had carried the question."* Publicly, he declared to his friends, that although he would prefer that mutiny and desertion should be punished by the civil magistrate, he would rather have them punished by courts-martial than not at all. The consequence was, that in the next division there were 186 votes for the bill, and only 105 against it.

Repeal of
the occa-
sional Con-
formity and
Schism Acts.

December.

The king was anxious to do away all distinctions between Protestants. His ministers told him that they could engage for the repeal of the Schism and occasional Conformity Acts, but not for the repeal of the Corporation Act, or any part of the Test Act. King George, therefore, told Lord Barrington, that as there were no hopes of carrying the whole, he hoped the dissenters were too much his friends to insist upon a thing infinitely prejudicial to him. Earl Stanhope brought the bill into the House of Lords, with some clauses modifying the Corporation and Test Acts. They were afterwards left out of the bill; but they gave occasion to some good debate, and a defence of the great principles of religious liberty by the Bishops of Bangor (Hoadly), Bristol, Gloucester, Lincoln (Gibson), and Peterborough (Kennet). The latter said, that "the cry of the church in danger made a mighty noise in the mouths of silly women and children; but that, in his opinion, being a scriptural institution, upon a legal establishment, it could not be endangered so long

* Walpoliana.

as we enjoyed the light of the Gospel and our excellent constitution." 1718.

An open quarrel broke out at this time in the royal family. The prince was so indignant at the nomination of the Duke of Newcastle as godfather to his child, that he could not restrain his rage: the king, offended at the terms he used, put him under arrest, and soon after ordered him to quit the palace. It was on this occasion that the judges of England decided, by a majority of ten to two, that the king had the sole control over the collateral branches of the royal family. Dissensions in the royal family.

To this animosity between the father and son is attributed the origin of a scheme proposed at this time for limiting the peerage. The English peers were never to exceed by more than six the existing number; twenty-five peers of Scotland were to be made the hereditary representatives of the Scotch peerage. 1719. Peerage Bill.

The Whigs in opposition looked upon this bill at first with favour. Such of them as were peers could not fail, personally, to be pleased with it; but there was another and more general motive which weighed strongly with the party. Those who have observed the working of the English constitution cannot fail to have remarked, that the abuse of an acknowledged prerogative always breeds a desire not only to punish the advisers of the abuse, but to limit or take away the prerogative itself. Such a case of abuse existed, or was supposed to exist, in the creation of twelve new peers by Lord Oxford to save his tottering ministry from ruin. The Whigs had never ceased to declaim against that extraordinary measure, and beheld

1719. without displeasure a scheme for destroying the power from which they had so lately suffered.

With these impressions, when the leading Whigs in opposition met at Devonshire House, the greater part of them were of opinion that the bill should be permitted to pass without opposition. Walpole alone openly dissented from this opinion. In order to encourage those who were dispirited by the little prospect of success, he mentioned that he had overheard a country gentleman in the House of Commons, of small estate, declare to another with great warmth, that "although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, he would never consent to give a perpetual exclusion to his family." Walpole concluded by declaring, that, if deserted by his party, he would stand forth singly and oppose the bill. The warmth and confidence with which he spoke gradually brought the whole party over to his opinion. The bill passed the House of Lords with little difficulty. In order to conciliate the Commons, it was given out that the king would yield his prerogative of pardoning in cases of impeachment, and that the Lords would wave their privilege of *scandalum magnatum*. In moving the bill, Secretary Craggs placed it on the ground of a concession to the liberties of the people, made in consequence of the abuse of the prerogative in the late reign. Mr. Walpole then rose, and in the course of his speech said:—

Speech of
Mr. Walpole.

"Although, Sir, I am ready to agree that illustrious birth forms one undisputed title to pre-eminence, it surely ought not to be the only one. Hitherto, the honours of the peerage have been the constitutional reward of great qualities displayed, and

great actions performed, in the service of the commonwealth. They have been kept open as a recompense, which, surviving to posterity, should display to all ages the virtues of the receiver, and the gratitude of the donor. Have you determined, that in future there shall be no energy to perform great services, or no gratitude to reward them? It is certain at least, that by this bill you damp the one, and disable the other.

“ Among the Romans, the path to the temple of fame lay through the temple of virtue: intending thereby to denote, that there was no approach to fame but through virtue. It was the policy no less than the pride of that wise nation to hold out to the world examples of merited elevation, that all eyes might perceive the road to distinction was ever open. But if this bill is to become a law, there will be no other way to honour but through the sepulchre of a dead ancestor.

“ Had this measure derived its origin from some peer of celebrated ancestry, it would have excited less surprise; a desire to exclude others from the honours themselves enjoy, is no novelty with persons of that class: *Quod ex aliorum meritis sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meis ascribi nolunt.* But it is matter of just astonishment that this bill should have been projected, or at least promoted, by a gentleman who was not long ago seated among us, and who, having made his way to the House of Peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him.*

“ Let us not pass by the consideration, that when this bill is once sanctioned by parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, for the upper house will always oppose the repeal of an act which has so considerably increased their power. The very unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords ought to inspire jealousy in the Commons. Nor, indeed, is it difficult to shew, that what the Lords gain by this bill will be gained at

* Lord Stanhope.

1719. our expense. For it is evident, that in all disputes between the Lords and Commons, when the upper house is immutable, the lower must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede.

“ We hear much of the creation of twelve peers in the reign of Queen Anne; but let us not, as a cure for a temporary mischief, sanction a perpetual evil. For not only would this bill be a discouragement to virtue and merit, but it would endanger the balance of our constitution. The Crown is dependent upon the Commons by the power of granting money; the Commons are dependent on the Crown by the power of dissolution. The Lords will now be made independent of both. To illustrate this more clearly, let me ask, if, when the parliament was made septennial, the power of dissolving it before the end of seven years had been wrested from the Crown, would not such an alteration have added immense authority to the Commons? And will not this bill in like manner add an immense authority to the Lords, by giving them undisturbed security, not for seven years, but for ever?

“ Let me ask, further, is the abuse of any prerogative a sufficient reason for annihilating that prerogative? If it be, the power of dissolving parliaments ought to be taken away, because that power has been more exercised, and more abused, than any of the other prerogatives. In 1641, the king assented to a law that disabled him from proroguing or dissolving parliament without the consent of both houses; what has been the consequence? He was from that time under subjection to the parliament, and from thence followed all the subsequent mischiefs, and his own destruction. It may also be asked, whether the prerogative of making peace and war has never been abused? Yet who will presume to advise that the power of making peace and war should be taken from the Crown?

“ If the pretence of this measure is, that it will tend to secure the freedom of parliament, there are many other steps, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions, more

important and less equivocal. But do not, on such motives as these, admit an evil without mitigation, injure the frame of the constitution, and sign away the rights of yourselves and your posterity." 1719.

This speech, well adapted to the audience he was addressing, had a powerful effect. The Commons, indignant at the exclusion they were called upon to pronounce against themselves, rejected the bill. Had it passed, the effects might have been not totally different from those of the closing of the great council of Venice: for if the peers had acted with method and union, they might have commanded the means of returning a majority to the House of Commons, and made the king their slave.

The plan of the sinking fund adopted by parliament had provided the means of diminishing the redeemable debt; but there was still a large quantity of debt not redeemable by parliament. This consisted of annuities called long and short annuities, the longest of which would not expire till the year 1808. A large number of fundholders had been incorporated during the administration of Harley, with the privilege of trading to the South Sea, whence they obtained the name of the South Sea Company. This company now proposed to convert the irredeemable debt by calculating each annuity at a certain number of years' purchase, and offering to the proprietors South Sea stock equal to the value of their capital. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, sanctioned this proposal; and in opening it to the House of Commons declared, that, if accepted, the national debt might

South Sea
scheme,
Jan. 1720.

1720. be liquidated in twenty-six years. Walpole and others, without opposing the scheme, observed, that it would be right to receive proposals from all other quarters before it was adopted. This was setting up the scheme to auction. The South Sea Company had offered three millions and a half for the privilege proposed; in a few days the Bank came forward to bid two millions more; but the South Sea Company, resolving not to be outdone, actually offered terms which, if all the annuities were taken in, would give seven millions and a half as a gratuity to the public. Walpole, now justly alarmed, desired the house to recollect the confusion which had prevailed in France from similar measures; he urged that, if the scheme was to be adopted, some limit ought to be put to the artificial rise of stock, which might otherwise produce the most fatal consequences. Notwithstanding this warning, the bill was carried by an immense majority.

After the long detail which has been given in a former volume of the scheme of Law, it is unnecessary to relate the particulars of what was afterwards called the South Sea bubble. The English delusion in many respects resembled the French. A stipulation by which the holders of the stock were to receive five per cent for seven years, while the interest of money was only four, was a sober ground of speculation; but rumours of imaginary gains, and immense power to be derived from a monopoly of the trade of Spanish America, were an appeal to the gambling spirit of the nation which was but too successful. Before the third subscription, the stock rose to

800; the directors therefore opened the subscription books at 1000*l.* for every 100*l.* of stock. A fourth subscription was made on the same terms.

1720.

During the progress of the South Sea affair, as in that of the Mississippi, other bubbles rose to the surface, and swelled for the time with froth and glitter. Every evening produced a new company; every company had some illustrious name at its head. The Prince of Wales was governor of the Welch Copper Company; the Duke of Chandos of the York Building Company. A projector set forth a scheme "for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." For every 100*l.* subscribed, the subscribers were to receive 100*l.* a year, and only two guineas were required as a deposit. The ingenious author collected two thousand guineas in one morning, and in the afternoon disappeared. A royal proclamation declared all these projects common nuisances, and ordered them to be prosecuted; but the people little minded such declarations, thinking it strange, as well as hard, that the chief gamblers in the nation should discourage gambling.

At length, however, the fever abated, and a fall of South Sea stock, in less than three weeks, to four hundred, proved the returning senses of the nation. This sudden revolution occasioned the greatest distress among all classes, for all had travelled what they imagined a short road to riches. Presently the stock fell to a hundred and thirty-five: a general outcry arose, not only against the ministers but the sovereign. Some of his Hanoverian counsellors, alarmed by the vehemence of public discontent, and unused

Fall of the
South Sea
scheme.

1720. to the loud voice of a free nation, advised the king to abdicate, and leave the country to its fate; others exhorted him to have recourse to the army, with a view of making himself absolute; and others, again, were for bringing in foreign troops, to enable him to subdue the nation which had given him his crown. At this moment Walpole came forward with a plan for the restoration of public credit, which he presented to the king, with a letter expressing his sense of the difficulties he had to encounter. To him the nation looked for its relief: he not only had the reputation of understanding finance better than any man in the kingdom, but he carried with him the weight of a large party, among whom were the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and Devonshire, and many other of the principal Whigs. The king and cabinet, therefore, willingly accepted his proposal, and being assured of his co-operation, ventured to encounter the parliament.
- Plan of
Walpole.
- December. The House of Commons, upon its meeting, resounded with declamation and invective against the contrivers of the South Sea scheme; Walpole coolly remarked, that it would be well to extinguish the flames before they inquired who were the incendiaries. The House of Commons, however, were no more to be stopped in their vengeance than they had been a year before in their delusion; nor did Walpole think it wise to make so hopeless an attempt. While, therefore, he took measures for abating the mischief, by transferring some of the South Sea stock to the Bank and East India Company, he said, on presenting the land-tax bill, that it should lie on the table till the inquiry was gone into, and the nation satisfied. It was
- 1721.

presently ordered that the directors should forthwith lay before the house an account of their proceedings; and a secret committee being appointed, made extensive inquiries, the result of which they communicated in seven reports to the house. It appeared that a fictitious stock of no less than 574,000*l.* had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. This stock had been entered as held of the company, for the benefit of pretended purchasers, although, in fact, no agreement had been made for the delivery of the stock at any certain time, nor any money been paid by those in whose names the stock was entered. Among these pretended purchasers were the Earl of Sunderland, the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Craggs, sen., and Mr. Charles Stanhope, secretary of the treasury, together with a name which had been originally Stanhope, but had been altered to Stangape. It appeared that Mr. Aislalie, chancellor of the exchequer, had deeply involved himself in the discredit of these transactions; besides 24,000*l.* in his own name, as a lord of the treasury, he had an account with Turner and Company to the amount of 794,000*l.* The raising the second money subscription, from a million to a million and a half, and the third subscription at 1000*l.* per 100*l.* stock, had been advised and promoted by him. In this last account Lord Sunderland had a list of 160,000*l.*, Mr. Secretary Craggs of 695,000*l.*, and Mr. Charles Stanhope of 47,000*l.* It appeared that the value of the stock had been raised by the most unfair means on the part of the court of directors: several of the ministers and some members of parlia-

1721.

1721. ment appeared to have been implicated in these fraudulent gains.

Upon these reports, the House of Commons came to several resolutions, condemning the practices which had been resorted to. One of these may serve as a sample of the whole:—Resolved, —“ That the taking in or holding of stock by the South Sea Company, for the benefit of any member of either house of parliament, or person concerned in the administration, during the time that the company’s proposals, or the bill thereto relating, were depending in parliament, without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given, for the acceptance of, or payment for such stock; and the company’s paying or allowing such person the difference arising by the advanced price of the stocks, were corrupt, infamous, and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and justice of parliaments, and destructive of the interests of his majesty’s government.”

After the general resolutions, the house proceeded to the cases of individuals. Mr. Stanhope was cleared of two articles of charge brought against him, by the very narrow majority of 180 to 177; an acquittal of a secretary of the treasury nearly equivalent to a condemnation. Lord Sunderland, owing to the influence of Walpole, had a larger majority in his favour; the division being 233 to 132. He resigned his post, and died not long afterwards. Mr. Aislaby was expelled the house, and ordered to be committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs, sen. died before his case was brought to a hearing. The directors were ordered to give inventories of their estates, and a particular

sum was granted to each. To Sir John Fellowes, sub-
governor, out of 243,000*l.* were allowed 10,000*l.*; to Mr.
Astell, out of 27,000*l.*, 5000*l.*, afterwards increased to
10,000*l.*; to Sir John Blunt, out of 183,000*l.*, only 1000*l.*;
to Sir Theodore Janssen, out of 243,000*l.*, 50,000*l.*; to
Mr. Hawes, out of 40,031*l.*, only 31*l.*; to Mr. Edmondson,
out of 5000*l.*, 3000*l.*; to Mr. Morley and Mr. Turner,
who had only 1,869*l.* and 881*l.*, were left 1800*l.* and
881*l.* Mr. Aislalie was allowed every thing he possessed
on the 20th October, 1718, with his wife's jewels and his
furniture. They were all disabled from holding any office,
or sitting in parliament for the future. 1721.

The ultimate arrangement of this affair, as it regarded
the proprietors and the public, was a matter of much greater
difficulty. To leave it to the course of law would have
led to a scene of distress and confusion indescribable.
Parliament therefore decided: 1. That all the stock should
be paid for at the rate of 400*l.* per cent. 2. That 33*l.*
per cent should be paid to the proprietors out of the
company's stock. 3. That the seven millions due to the
public should be remitted. 4. That those who had bor-
rowed of the company should be allowed to compound
for ten per cent of their debt.*

While these things were going on in parliament, a great
change had taken place in the administration. We have
seen that Lord Sunderland and Mr. Aislalie were not
only forced out of their offices, but hardly escaped more
severe punishment for their corrupt and infamous conduct. Change of
ministry.

* Tindal. Parl. Hist.

1721. Earl Stanhope, in defending himself against the Duke of Wharton, who had compared him to Sejanus, exerted himself with such violence, that he burst a blood-vessel, and expired the following day of suffocation. Eleven days afterwards died Secretary Craggs. Thus all the great offices were cleared. It was not difficult, however, to choose successors. Mr. Walpole, who had shewn so much ability in extricating the country from the evils of the South Sea scheme, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. His relation, Lord Townshend again became secretary of state. When Walpole thus finally took the supreme direction of affairs, his reputation for ability stood higher than ever, but his character for integrity had somewhat suffered by his late opposition. Not only had he opposed the Whig ministers on the Spanish war and every doubtful question, but had voted against the repeal of the Schism Bill, and induced the Duke of Devonshire to do the same.

1722.
Jacobite
conspiracy.

Early in the year 1722, it was discovered that the Jacobites were busy in a new conspiracy. The pretender, who was at Rome, was to sail from Porto Longone under the protection of three Spanish men-of-war, and to await in Spain the resolutions of his friends.* The first information came from the Regent of France. On pursuing the clue he had given, it was found that all the letters were taken to a person of the name of Kelly, who distributed them. The plot was to break out upon the king's journey to Hanover; and when that was put off, in consequence

* R. Walpole to his brother Horace, May 1722. Coxe.

1722.

of the discovery, it was determined to raise an insurrection at the time of the dissolution of parliament. At length the conspirators perceived that their letters were seen by government; and the ministers finding them on their guard, gave orders for the arrest of Kelly. He defended himself with his sword so successfully, that he got time to burn a great part of his papers; and from those which were already in the hands of government, although many footsteps of conspiracy were to be seen, it was difficult to track them home to the guilty persons. "We are in trace of several things very material," writes Robert Walpole to his brother; "but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon." The Duke of Norfolk, Lords North and Grey, Strafford, Orrery, Sir Harry Goring, and some others, were mentioned in the informations received by government; but the only person of note upon whom a charge could with any plausibility be fixed, was Atterbury, bishop of Rochester.

Atterbury was known as a fine scholar and a fiery politician. Besides works of learning, he had written Sacheverel's defence; was an eager partisan of the Tories, and a most pugnacious advocate of passive obedience. It has been said, on the authority of Lord Harcourt, that upon the death of Queen Anne, he offered to proclaim the pretender at Charing-Cross, in his lawn sleeves; and that when his proposal was declined, he exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit!" A trifling circumstance identified him as one of the conspirators. A dog was sent from France, and mentioned in the letters as a present to a person named sometimes Jones, and sometimes Illington.

1722. A Mrs. Barnes, who was in the secret of the conspiracy, not aware that so trifling a fact could imply guilt, readily owned that this dog was intended for the Bishop of Rochester. Upon examining the letters more closely, the mention of Jones and Illington was found always to agree with this information: the bishop's illness, the death of his wife, his coming to town and leaving it, were all mentioned, with the right dates under these feigned names.

October. The conspirators were arrested during the long vacation, and a new parliament was called together in the month of October. After a speech from the king, announcing the discovery of the conspiracy, it was agreed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for a whole year, double the period of any suspension hitherto known; the effect of an unsuccessful conspiracy always being to injure the liberties of the subject.

1723.
March.

Bills of Pains
and Penalties.

April.

Christopher Layer alone, among the conspirators, was convicted and executed by due course of law. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower, but not brought to trial. Plunkett and Kelly were imprisoned by virtue of bills of pains and penalties passed through parliament. A bill of a similar kind, depriving Atterbury of his bishopric, and banishing him for life, without a power in the crown to pardon, was brought into the House of Commons. Atterbury reserved his defence for the House of Peers. The evidence brought against him consisting entirely of correspondence, not in his own hand, was of a kind hitherto unknown to an English judicature. 1. The first step was to ascertain the hand-writing. This

was pretended to be done by the clerks of the post-office, who had copied and forwarded the letters on the 20th of April; on the 20th of August they stopt another letter as a sample, which they swore to be in the same hand-writing as the letters they had copied before. 2. Evidence, but of an imperfect kind, was brought to shew that the sample retained was in the hand-writing of Kelly. 3. It was made probable, rather than proved, that Kelly wrote by the dictation of the bishop. 4. The letters being written in cypher, decyphers were brought to swear that they could not be mistaken in their interpretation of the cypher; they differed, however, with regard to two or three of the words signified. 5. The last step was to prove that the letters contained something treasonable. There was mention of designs entertained and postponed, but nothing shewed what these designs were. One of the letters, however, was directed to Jackson; and it was argued, from some doubtful circumstances, that Jackson meant the pretender. Therefore, as it was high treason to correspond with the pretender, a letter to Jackson, inferred to be written by Kelly, from a resemblance carried in the memory of the post-office clerks during four months; supposed, from minute circumstances, to be dictated by Atterbury; and believed to be rightly interpreted by the skill of the government decyphers, was argued to be sufficient ground to deprive the Bishop of Rochester of his station, property, and country. After an able speech from the counsel, from the bishop himself, and from Earl Cowper, in favour of the accused, the bill passed the lords, and received the

1723.

May.
Atterbury
banished the
kingdom.

1723. royal assent. It is mortifying to be obliged to record such a proceeding during the reign of the first sovereign of the House of Hanover. It would surely have been better to allow this busy priest to escape with a warning of his danger, than, by the false semblance of law, to disturb the inviolability of those sacred forms which, in ordinary tribunals, protect the person and property of the subject. Atterbury's importance, too, does not seem to have been sufficient to induce parliament to swerve the balance of justice for the sake of removing him from the episcopal bench. His temper and fortitude, indeed, are celebrated by Pope, who seems to have been much attached to him :

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour!

How shines the soul unconquer'd in the Tower!

But Pope was easily won by kindness, and gave Atterbury credit for a magnanimity which did not belong to him. During his exile he engaged in the service of the Jacobite party, and employed himself in cabals for supplanting, by the help of the pretender's mistress, the ministers and favourites of that mimic court; thus endeavouring, by the vilest of means, to attain the most ridiculous of ends. He died at Paris in the year 1732: his body was interred in Westminster Abbey.

Return of
Bolingbroke
to England.

When Atterbury crossed over to Calais, he met Lord Bolingbroke, who was on his way to England. Atterbury said with a smile, "My lord, you and I are exchanged!" The journey of this famous person to England caused much speculation, and many of the supporters of Walpole ex-

pressed their surprise and displeasure, that he who had moved the impeachment of Bolingbroke, and had since expressed in the strongest terms his anger at the notion of an act of indemnity, should now be the person to promote his return to his country. Papers which have since seen the light give a clue to this seeming contradiction.

1723.

Bolingbroke had, long before this time, completely broken with the Stuarts. Lord Mar and he differed violently with regard to the conduct of the expedition in 1715: Mar, to ruin his rival, induced the Duke of Ormond to repeat, in the presence of the pretender, some abusive expressions which Bolingbroke, when drunk, had uttered to the disparagement of his master. The pretender, highly incensed, instantly sent for the seals; at which Bolingbroke was so exasperated, that when the queen mother attempted to allay the quarrel, he said he wished his arm might rot off if he ever drew his sword or employed his pen in their service. To a man of talents and ambition, the being dismissed from the post of secretary of state by both the claimants of the English throne might well seem a mortifying conclusion of the labours and intrigues of the best part of his life. Bolingbroke, however, nothing depressed, made a short turn, and offered his services to the ambassador of George. He professed himself ready to do any thing but betray the secrets of his friends. A letter to Sir William Wyndham, dissuading the Tories from any reliance on the pretender, and exposing the exiled family to ridicule and contempt, was thrown in the way of the ministers. Something, perhaps, would have been done for

1723. him at that time, had not Walpole denounced the intention in parliament: but Walpole, now in office, had to struggle against the rivalry of Carteret, who was supported by Countess Platen and the Hanoverians. Bolingbroke gave the Duchess of Kendal 11,000*l.* for a pardon; the mistress pleaded, and the minister acquiesced. Thus far successful, he offered Walpole the support of the Tories against Carteret; but received a rebuke for his officiousness. Still undismayed, he went to Paris, where he assured Horace Walpole of his conviction, that the government must be established on a Whig foundation, and that any addition to the ministry must be grafted on a Whig stock; adding that he was ready either to serve in the House of Lords or retire into the country. Horace Walpole gave him to understand that he must not expect a complete restoration. At length, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for restoring to him his family estate, and to enable him to make purchases of real and personal property. The bill was opposed by the whiggism of Methuen and Onslow, but passed into a law.
- May. 1725. April. This restless man, however, highly displeased at not being restored to his seat in the House of Lords, set up a newspaper, called the *Craftsman*, in which he omitted no means of harassing the administration. Nor did he confine himself to attempts to rouse the country; by means of the Duchess of Kendal he got admission to the closet, and presented to the king a memorial against his minister; but George gave it unread to Walpole. The friends of Walpole raised a cry of ingratitude; but the minister must have been wanting in his usual sagacity had he not foreseen that Bolingbroke, if not his colleague in power,
1726. December.

would soon prove his bitterest enemy. Favours conferred with reluctance excite little gratitude, as injuries done without intention provoke little resentment. The situation of Bolingbroke, restored to his country, but deprived of his public character; shut out by decency, if not by better feelings, from openly attacking the House of Hanover, yet nearly hopeless of obtaining power under their sway, was, to a man of so active a mind, galling in the extreme; and he hated his enemy none the less because he had once been his benefactor. 1726.

In order to follow more closely the fortunes of Bolingbroke, our narrative has omitted some events which took place before the bill for his restoration. One of the chief of these was the introduction of Wood's copper money into Ireland, a circumstance which caused much more noise than it deserved. A patent, granting the privilege of supplying Ireland with copper money to the value of 100,000*l.* was given by Sunderland to the Duchess of Kendal, and sold by her to one William Wood, a wealthy proprietor of iron and copper works, and lessee of the mines belonging to the crown in many counties of England. The Irish were indignant at the notion of being supplied with halfpence coined in England, for the benefit of an Englishman. Two men of talents, the one endowed with power and the other with wit, Alan Brodrick, Lord Middleton, chancellor of Ireland, and Dr. Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, employed the utmost of their abilities and influence with the peers and the people, in the senate-house and in the ale-house, to decry the obnoxious currency. Wood was the subject of parliamentary invectives and

Wood's copper money,
1723.

1723. abusive pamphlets; the two houses passed resolutions declaring that the terms of the patent had been infringed, both in the quantity and quality of the coin; and the nation, inflamed by the Draper's Letters (an anonymous production of Swift), called aloud for the independence of Ireland. The Duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant, whom Walpole styled "a fair-weather pilot," served only to aggravate the perils of the hour. In this disorder of the machine, Walpole recalled the Duke of Grafton, conciliated the Brodricks, diminished the sum to be issued more than one half, and drew up a report, proving, on the authority of Sir Isaac Newton, master of the mint, that the patent had been submitted to him before it was ratified, and that the coin, far from falling short in value, rather exceeded in fineness and weight the terms of the patent. Such, however, was the prevailing heat, that this attempt at a compromise failed: no one would believe Sir Isaac Newton, the lords justices refused to issue the necessary orders, and the grand jury of Dublin presented as enemies to the government all persons who should attempt to impose the new currency on the people. Instead of carrying on the contest further, Walpole withdrew the coinage, and sent his rival, Lord Carteret, to pacify the country. Thus ended a storm, which, in the hands of another minister, might have placed in jeopardy the state itself.

1727.
Death of
George the
First,
June 10.

George the First did not long survive these events. He set out for Hanover on the 2d of June; and on the 9th was entertained by Count Twittel at a country-house near Delden. Early the next morning he departed from

Delden, and soon felt indisposition: at Ippenburen he grew lethargic, his tongue hung out of his mouth, and he could only keep repeating the word Osnaburg, Osnaburg. His valet immediately got on horseback and rode on to the palace of the king's brother, the Bishop of Osnaburg; but when the carriage arrived there the king was quite dead.* His death was attributed by some to a melon he ate the night before, which others affirm was an orange. Walpole said more truly, that he died of thinking he never could die.†

1727.

The Duchess of Kendal, who was on her way from Delden at the time, retired for three months to Brunswick: she afterwards resided at Kendal House, Isleworth, till her death, which happened in 1743. A raven, which one day flew into her room, was always cherished by her as the ghost of the departed monarch.

There is another person, besides the mistress, whose fate deserves mention in this place. Sophia Dorothy, of Zell, the daughter of William, Duke of Zell, by Eleanor d'Emiers, of the French family of Olbreuse, was married at sixteen to George the First, then electoral prince. She brought him a son and a daughter, but was soon neglected for a mistress. During the absence of the prince with the army, Count Konigsmark arrived at Hanover: he was a man of professed gallantry, and had avowed his admiration for the princess before her marriage. The elector was told that his daughter-in-law received him late in the evening in her own apartment: the count was watched; and one night, as he left the palace by a private

Sophia of Zell.

* Coxe, Tindal, Wraxall.

† Orford, Reminiscences.

1727. way, he was assassinated by the orders, and in the presence of the elector. The public feeling, shocked at this murder, pronounced itself in favour of the princess: it was generally believed that she was innocent, and that Konigsmark had been drawn to the spot by the artifice of a favourite mistress of Ernest Augustus, who had substituted another person for the princess. The prince, however, on his return from the army, implicitly believed the guilt of his wife, and caused her to be immured in the castle of Alden, where she was confined for thirty-two years, and died only seven months before her husband. Her crime was never proved: that of her father-in-law is but too well authenticated. Her son, George the Second, who was convinced of her innocence, secretly kept in his possession a picture of his mother; and on the morning after the news of the king's decease reached London, the portrait appeared in his antechamber.*

The animosity which had existed between the late and present king gave rise to a curious circumstance. Archbishop Wake, who was intrusted with the will of the deceased monarch, when the time for its being opened arrived, presented it to his successor, who, to the surprise of every one, put it in his pocket, and stalked out of the room; nor was it ever heard of more. His friends said, in palliation of this act, that George the First had destroyed two wills made in favour of his son.† It should likewise be mentioned, that by the law of England, the will would not have been valid; all property, real as well as personal, of the king, descends with the crown.

Public expectation.

The death of George the First awakened the hopes of

* Reminiscences.

† Ibid.

the party out of power, and men generally looked for a change of ministers. Walpole himself partook of this opinion. Upon asking his new sovereign whom he wished to draw up the declaration to the privy council, the king replied with great abruptness, "Compton;" and the minister quitted the room under the impression that his power was at an end. He advised his friend Sir William Yonge, however, not to go into violent opposition, for, though he was now going out, he should probably soon come in again. 1727.

In speaking thus, Walpole doubtless founded his calculation upon the character of the person chosen to succeed him. Sir Spencer Compton was one of those men for whom a certain formality of manner, and precise punctuality in business, procure reputation for political talent. In his case, as in a thousand others, it soon appeared that his gravity was the sign, not of wisdom, but of dullness, and that the extent of his dexterity consisted in the concealment of his incapacity. When he received the king's commands to draw up the declaration to the privy council, he was obliged to avow his ignorance, and requested Walpole to draw it up for him; a request with which the late minister complied, not without a smile at the expense of his successor.

Sir Spencer
Compton.

Although George the Second had much reliance upon Sir Spencer Compton, he had much more upon his consort, Caroline, the daughter of the Margrave of Anspach. Caroline, when Princess of Wales, had once observed to George the First, that a want of means would oblige him to disband his Hanover troops; to which the king had replied, "No, for Walpole can turn stones into gold." This anecdote

Queen
Caroline.

1727. dote recurred to her recollection; an offer from Walpole to obtain an augmentation of 130,000*l.* to the civil list, and a jointure of 100,000*l.* for herself, seemed to justify the words of the late king; she pleaded his cause with her husband, and hinted, that a man who could not draw up a speech could hardly be fit for the head of a ministry. On the other hand, Compton was averse to undertake the responsibility of conducting the government. When the queen intimated to him the king's intention of placing him at the head of the treasury, and Walpole offered his support, he burst into tears, and declared himself incapable of exercising so arduous a task. This was exactly what the queen desired.

As Sir Robert Walpole passed through St. James's Square on his way from the palace, he passed near Compton's door. "Do you observe," he said to a friend, "how my house is deserted, and how that door is crowded with carriages? To-morrow the scene will be changed; that house will be deserted, and mine will be more frequented than ever." At the first drawing-room, held at Leicester House, while Lady Walpole was standing far behind, unable to make her way through the crowd, the queen beckoned to her, saying, "There I am sure I see a friend;" and upon her approach received her in the most gracious manner. Lady Walpole, in relating the anecdote to her son, added, "in returning I might have walked upon their heads, they were so eager to pay their court to me."

The ministry being thus retained, Queen Caroline continued the steady friend and supporter of Walpole. Possessed of great abilities herself, and an accurate judge of

the talents of others, she could fully appreciate the merit of the minister. The king followed her superior discernment, and was guided by her judgement. But this was not generally known; and many a suitor lost his way to preferment, by seeking the protection of Mrs. Howard, the mistress, rather than that of the queen. Walpole expressed this with his usual coarseness. Lord Chesterfield, himself one of the dupes, observed to him artfully, that at the levee they did not make way for Sir Spencer Compton as before. "Why," said Walpole, "I do not wonder at that; he took the wrong sow by the ear, and I the right."* In fact, this was a singular instance of a queen having all the power, and the mistress only the weariness of royalty. George, when Prince of Wales, had been deeply enamoured of Miss Bellenden, a maid of honour, whose beauty and liveliness charmed all the world; she rejected her royal lover, however, to marry Colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll; and the prince, thinking it became his station to have a mistress, pitched, for the sake of convenience, upon the succeeding maid of honour, Mrs. Howard. But in his heart he preferred the queen, not only in mind but in person, of which he gave some whimsical proofs. Queen Caroline, from a little female spite, used to have "her good Howard" to assist at her toilette. The king would come in when she was putting a handkerchief on the queen's neck, and tear it off, saying, "because you have an ugly neck yourself, you hide the queen's." The followers of Mrs. Howard, much perplexed at their failure in excluding

1727.

Mrs. Howard.

* Walpoliana.

1727. the minister, attempted, as a test of her favour, to obtain an earldom for Lord Bathurst. But the queen put in her veto, as she did ever after upon the friends of the mistress.*

It were to be wished, for the reputation of Walpole, that he had not carried beyond due bounds the court he paid to the power of others for the purpose of continuing his own. Knowing himself formed for a public life, and unfit for any other, he could not endure the thought either of losing or sharing the direction of the state. But this greedy ambition had its evils. From the accession of George the Second we may date that systematic and powerful opposition which finally overthrew him. It had been his anxious desire to unite to his government all the followers of Lord Sunderland; and thus forming a compact body of the whole Whig party, to fix on his Tory opponents the name of Jacobites. Some of Lord Sunderland's friends, however, inheriting their leader's hatreds, refused to coalesce with him; others saw with envy the monopoly of power in the hands of a private gentleman. In the course of opposition, these dissatisfied Whigs formed a junction with the Tories. The splendid abilities of some among them gave a lustre to the cause which they espoused; and young men of talents, who entered parliament unshackled, eagerly joined against a minister whose name was vulgarly associated with political corruption and national degradation. It is worth while to pause a moment on the names and characters of

* Reminiscences,

the leaders, whose eloquence and capacity checked the power and obscured the reputation of one of the wisest statesmen Great Britain ever possessed. 1727.

The chief contriver of the Whig opposition was Mr. Daniel Pulteney. He was a man of virtue in private life, a clear and weighty speaker in public, but more remarkable for the strength than the liveliness of his parts. He had been admitted to all the secrets of Lord Sunderland, and was intended for secretary of state. The death of Lord Sunderland so disappointed his hopes and soured his mind, that the desire of overthrowing the successful rival of his patron became the sole passion of his political life. He carried on this design at first in whispers and hints; but afterwards resigning his place at the board of admiralty, went openly into opposition, and carried with him his more celebrated kinsman.

New oppo-
sition.
Daniel Pul-
teney.

William Pulteney, as well as his cousin Daniel, was descended from an ancient family in Leicestershire. His grandfather had been member of parliament for Westminster. William was born in 1682: he received his education at Westminster school and Christ Church college, Oxford. After travelling on the continent, he came into parliament for the borough of Hedon, zealously adopted the principles of the Whigs, and ably seconded Walpole in his opposition to the Oxford administration. Thus distinguished, he became secretary at war on the accession of the House of Hanover; and when Walpole retired, he likewise resigned his office. But Walpole, when he returned to power, kept the negotiation a secret from

William
Pulteney.

1727. Pulteney, and did not procure for him the office he expected; hence the breach between them. Pulteney, many years afterwards, forgetful of what honour required, published an account of the conversation. He reports Walpole as saying that the affair had been kept a secret even from Lord Cowper; but adding, "We have not had our own interests only in view. We have bargained for all our friends, and in due time they will be provided for. I am to be at the head of the treasury. Lord Sunderland had a great desire to retain the disposition of the secret service money to himself; but I would by no means consent to that, knowing the chief power of a minister depends on the disposition of it." With respect to the prince (then king), Pulteney represents him to have said, upon being asked what was to be done for him, "Why, he is to go to court again, and to have his drums and his guards, and such fine things:" and to another question, that if it were to do again they would not do so much for him.* To Pulteney, Walpole offered a peerage, which he rejected with indignation.

Some time after, however, Pulteney, who was not quite so disinterested as he wished to be thought, obtained the place of cofferer of the household; a pension of 5000*l.* a year being given to Lord Godolphin to induce him to resign. But, on a fresh disagreement, he was dismissed from his office, and from that time forward became the leader of the discontented Whigs. Some efforts, indeed,

* Answer to an infamous libel.

were made to reclaim him; and about the time of 1727.
Townshend's retirement, Queen Caroline offered him a
peerage, with the post of secretary of state. But his
passions were too much excited, or his character too far
committed, to allow him to accept the proposal, and he de-
clared he never would again act with Sir Robert Walpole.

Pulteney was a man of eminent endowments, rather
natural than acquired, although not without the last; but
of a variable and uncertain mind, a defect of which he
was totally unconscious. With regard to his powers of
debate, Speaker Onslow, an undeniable witness, bears this
testimony: "He had the most popular parts for public
speaking that I ever knew; animating every subject of
popularity with the spirit and fire that the orators of the
ancient commonwealth governed the people by; was as
classical and elegant in the speeches he did not prepare
as they were in their most studied compositions, mingling
wit and pleasantry, and the application even of little stories,
so properly to affect his hearers, that he would upset
the best argumentation in the world, and win people to
his side, often against their own convictions, by making
ridiculous that truth they were influenced by before, and
men afraid and ashamed of being thought within the
virulence of some bitter expressions of his, or within the
laugh that generally went through the town at any me-
morable stroke of his wit.... He certainly hurt Sir Robert
Walpole more than any of those that opposed him."

In speaking of Pulteney, it is impossible to omit that
in private life he was famed for avarice. He was one

1727.

of those men who cannot bear parting with small sums, give half-a-crown where they ought to give half-a-guinea, and expose themselves to incessant derision by the want of spirit to add to their expense about twenty pounds a year. He was accused of the odious, as well as the ridiculous part of avarice; and although his friends have denied it, there were stories to that effect current in the world, of which the impression has never been effaced.

Sir William
Wyndham.

Sir William Wyndham was descended from the elder branch of the ancient family of Wyndham, settled at Orchard Wyndham, in the county of Somerset. He was under thirty when Bolingbroke decided to raise him from the post of secretary at war to that of chancellor of the exchequer; was supposed, apparently with reason, to be one of the most jacobinical of the Oxford ministry; and was imprisoned, as we have seen, during the rebellion of 1715. He naturally and fairly took a part in opposition to the Whig ministry, and became by his talents one of the most prominent members of the House of Commons. It was observed, that no man was ever more improved by the habits of public debate. At first he was a disagreeable speaker, and too much given to pleasure to be well acquainted with the subjects on which he spoke; he rose to be a most powerful orator and an able man of business. Time softened the violent hatred which he once bore to the Protestant dissenters into a moderate resistance to their claims; a long course of opposition taught him the value of freedom; and lastly, his regard for freedom converted him from a Jacobite into a supporter of the House

of Hanover. It was thought, that had he risen to be minister, he would have been haughty, passionate, and disposed to carry his power too high. If we may believe Pope, however, he had overcome the youthful heat of his temper. 1727.

— “Wyndham, just to freedom and the throne,
The master of our passions and his own.”

How he appeared to his hearers in the House of Commons cannot better be shewn than by again quoting the words of Speaker Onslow: “He was, in my opinion, the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age. Every thing about him seemed great. There was no inconsistency in his composition; all the parts of his character suited, and were a help to one another. There was much of grace and dignity in his person, and the same in his speaking. He had no acquirements of learning; but his eloquence, improved by use, was strong, full, and without affectation, arising chiefly from his clearness, propriety, and argumentation; in the method of which last, by a sort of induction almost peculiar to himself, he had a force beyond any man I ever heard in public debate. He had not the vivacity of wit and pleasantry in his speeches so entertaining in the former (Pulteney); but there was a spirit and power in his speaking that always animated himself and his hearers, and, with the decoration of his manner, which was indeed very ornamental, produced not only the most attentive, respectful, but even a reverend regard to whatever he spoke.”

1727.

It must not be forgotten, however, that Wyndham was in a great measure governed by Bolingbroke, who continued, in affected retreat, the busy, scheming, and active mover of the Tory opposition. He employed his pen in the *Craftsman* with such vigour and effect, that it was sometimes feared the discontent of the people would break forth in open insurrection.

Sir John
Barnard.

Sir John Barnard was a merchant of the city of London, of the highest repute for his acquaintance with all the interests of trade. His parents were quakers; but he quitted that sect at the age of eighteen. A speech before the House of Lords, in behalf of the merchants, first revealed to the world his intimate knowledge of commerce, and he was chosen member for the city without solicitation or cabal. He evinced so much shrewdness in debate, and was so thoroughly master of the subjects on which he spoke, that he was the only match for Walpole on questions of trade and finance, in which the minister notoriously excelled. The compliments he received, both in the city and in parliament, upon this competition, led him into a more constant opposition than seemed suitable to his temper. He was not attached to any party, and no temptation of profit or high station (both of which he might have had) could draw him from the retired and independent life he loved. His usual residence was at Clapham, nor did he ever come to London but on business. Walpole esteemed his ability so highly, that when his sons used to praise the speeches of Pulteney, Pitt, Lyttleton, and others, he would reply, "You may cry up

their speeches as much as you please; but when I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate." *

1727.

The fame which attended the speeches of Wyndham and Pulteney, together with the general belief that Walpole maintained his government by corruption, induced many young men, some of them of the highest ability, to procure seats in parliament, that they might share in the glory of his overthrow. Their invectives were unmeasured, and their treatment of the minister hardly decent towards one of his years and long public service. But the general effect of their exertions, and those of the Tory party, to displace the minister of the day, was favourable to the permanent interests of freedom. The ancient friends of prerogative fought with the arms of a popular opposition; young men were brought up in habits of vigorous wrestling on subjects of public importance; and if they sometimes got a fall in the conflict, their limbs were strengthened by the exercise.

Pitt, Lyttleton, &c.

In the House of Peers the opposition were for some time feeble in numbers, nearly all the Whig aristocracy being combined in support of the minister. We shall see that they afterwards became more formidable. Lord Carteret trusted principally for the present to his friends at court.

Thus surrounded by enemies in the House of Commons, the country, and the court, Walpole seems to have made

* This account of the leaders of opposition is chiefly taken from Speaker Onslow's Remarks, inserted in the Appendix to Coxe's Walpole.

1727. little preparation for the defence of his power. Scarcely any rising men appeared on his side in debate: the writers whom he paid for supporting his cause were proverbially weak and inefficient. It is admitted, indeed, that in the ministry he had some able assistants; but truth itself did not make its due impression when enforced by speakers who were held up to public odium as the basest and most selfish of men. The jealousy of dividing his power grew more and more conspicuous, and proved eventually the source of his ruin. Even with Lord Townshend, his ancient colleague and near relation, to whom he for a long time left the whole direction of foreign affairs, he was unable to maintain his connexion. In 1730, Townshend retired from office, and devoted the rest of his life to the introduction of turnip husbandry in Norfolk.* Queen Caroline, by her preference of Walpole, seems to have inflamed this quarrel into a breach. Walpole himself, when asked for the causes of difference, replied, "As long as the firm of the house was Townshend and Walpole, all did very well; but when it became Walpole and Townshend, things went wrong, and a separation ensued." Thus deprived of his best friend, some of the men whom Walpole associated with him in the government, at first secretly, at last openly, thwarted him. They were selfish, and he thought them subservient: he knew they were unfit to fill his place, and he believed they would not

* In some books of husbandry he is mentioned as "a Lord Townshend." Such is fame, even among writers!

attempt it. But he was deceived; and instead of sharing his power with able rivals, he allowed himself to be betrayed and supplanted by the instruments of his will. 1727.

We pass now from the men who contended, to the measures upon which they disputed. The first troubled years of George the Second were succeeded by a period of quiet; but the year 1733 brought into full activity the combined forces of the Whig and Tory opposition. In this year Sir R. Walpole proposed two great measures. 1733.

The first of these was a proposal to apply half a million, Sinking fund. to be taken out of the sinking fund, to the service of the year. From the year 1717 to the year 1728, this fund had been kept inviolate; the debt had been reduced, and the yearly amount of the fund had risen to twelve hundred thousand pounds. But from this time Walpole ceased to be solicitous about its increase: he charged it with the interest of the new loans contracted, and at length meditated a formal attack upon it. In opening his motion to the house, he threatened, that if the measure was rejected, he should be obliged to propose raising the land-tax from one to two shillings in the pound.

The motion was so agreeable both to the landed and monied interests, the one averse to paying their debts, and the other to being paid, that it was carried by a large majority. Yet the enemies of the minister did not fail to urge all those arguments which are so obvious against violating the sacred deposit; and posterity, an interested party in this question, seems to have affirmed the validity of their objections. But the sentence requires revision;

1733. let us at least hear the defence of Walpole before we condemn him.

The first object of the original measure, the maintenance of the credit of the state, had been attained. The public creditor dreaded any further increase of the sinking fund; the price of stock was above par; nor was it expedient to lower any further the interest of the debt. At present the creditor received but two-thirds of the income he expected to have when he lent his money. A further reduction would lead foreigners to withdraw their deposits, and perhaps create confusion at home: the general rate of interest and profits would fall; capital would be sent abroad. On the other hand, the money which it was proposed to pay to the creditor who did not want it, was at present productive in the hands of the debtor. "If every man in the nation should be obliged this year to contribute 10s. towards the current service of the year, does not he lose the interest of that 10s. for all years to come? And if, by borrowing a sum of money upon the public credit, at three or four per cent, that 10s. should be left in every private man's pocket, may not he make every year five per cent of that money so left in his pocket?"*

We may gather, from the debates on this subject, Walpole's general notions of a sinking fund. He thought it a wise and useful institution upon the commencement of a peace, for the purpose of strengthening public credit. When credit had grown high, and the fund "almost a

* Debate on raising the supplies within the year, Feb. 2, 1736.

terror to the individual proprietors of the public debts," 1733.
he thought a great part of it might be safely applied to the service of the year. In time of war he intended to devote the whole of it to that purpose.* He seems to have quite abandoned the hope of paying off the entire debt. Perhaps these notions, as they are more simple, are likewise more reasonable than the pompous calculations of later times. In the case we are considering, however, political motives strengthened the minister's resolutions. The fundholders were generally the friends, and the landholders the enemies, of the House of Hanover. To alienate the one class by paying them, and irritate the other by taxing them, was to shake the security of the Protestant establishment.

Walpole, therefore, did not depart, on this occasion, so widely as has been supposed from his habitual wisdom. The besetting sin of his measure was, that it contained in itself a temptation to renew and extend it. In his speech he says that "a million a year was as much as the creditors of the public could bear to receive in discharge of part of their principal." But, in fact, he ceased to devote a million a year to this purpose, and there were several years in which no progress at all was made in the reduction of the debt. Whether, indeed, if he had strictly applied the sinking fund to its proper purpose, our national debt would now have been less than it is, may be doubted. The extravagance of a warlike government knows no

* Debates, Feb. 23, 1733; Feb. 2, 1736.

1733.

bounds but the endurance of the people ; and the savings of ten years' accumulation may be wasted in one ill-judged expedition.

The excise
scheme.

The other measure of Walpole was the famous excise scheme, which raised scarcely less ferment than if he had proposed to repeal the act of Habeas Corpus, or introduce the Inquisition. But the clamour of that day must not be allowed to affect the decisions of this. The excise scheme was a plan for converting certain duties of customs into duties of excise. The difference between these two kinds of tax is, that customs are duties paid by the merchant upon importation ; excises, duties payable by the retail trader upon consumption. When Walpole came into office, he found some articles, as wine, tobacco, coffee, tea, chocolate, subject to customs ; while others, as malt, beer, salt, and British spirits, paid duties of excise. He ascertained by experience and observation, that the excise was collected much better than the customs ; that the system of drawbacks led to extensive and most pernicious frauds ; and that the revenue of customs received into the exchequer fell far short of the taxes imposed by parliament. Hence he conceived the notion of converting several of the duties of customs into duties of excise, reserving a small portion to be paid upon the warehousing of the goods, and repaid when the goods should be taken out for exportation. As a commencement, he abolished the import duties on tea, coffee, and chocolate, and subjected them to inland collection, avoiding, however, the word excise. The revenue increased by no less a sum than 120,000*l.* a year. Soon

after he openly avowed that he intended to change the mode of raising a part of the supplies. 1733.

The opposition set up a loud outcry against this scheme. The pages of the *Craftsman*, under the direction of Bolingbroke and Pulteney, were devoted to essays against the excise, which were afterwards republished in a volume. The word excise, which had always been unpalatable, soon came to signify the total destruction of liberty, property, and religion. Popular ignorance received and propagated the delusion.

The minister, nevertheless, persisted. A committee was appointed to inquire into the frauds committed in the customs, and their report brought to light enormous evils. In the course of nine years, 2000 persons had been prosecuted for the offence of smuggling; upwards of 251,000 pounds weight of tea, and 652,924 gallons of brandy, had been seized and condemned; in effecting these seizures, 250 custom-house officers had been maimed or beaten, and six had been killed. June 7, 1732.

After some preliminary skirmishes, the minister opened his plan to a committee of the whole house. Not only was there a full attendance of members, but the avenues leading to parliament were crowded with numerous parties of citizens. 1733.
March 15.

Walpole began by stating that this was a contest between the unfair trader on the one side, the fair trader, the planter, and the public, on the other. The public, however, and especially the landed interest, suffered the most, for they were obliged to make good what the government did not receive. He denied the existence of

1733. any scheme for a general excise; and said that his only object was to improve the revenue collected on wine and tobacco. "For myself," he continued, "I shall only say, I have so little partiality for this scheme, except what a real and constitutional love of the public inspires, that if I fail in this proposal, it will be the last attempt of the kind I shall ever make; and I believe a minister will not soon be found hardy enough to brave, on the behalf of the people, and without the slightest motive of interest, the worst effects of popular delusion and popular injustice."

For the present he confined his attention to the tobacco trade. If, by putting a stop to the frauds committed in this trade, an addition could be made to the revenue, the payment of the national debt might be accelerated; or the taxes which fell heaviest on the labouring poor, as those on soap and candles, might be abolished; or increased means might be applied to the current service. The gross produce of the tax on tobacco, on an average, was 750,000*l.*; the net produce only 161,000*l.* One of the frauds which most frequently prevailed, was that of using light weights upon importation, and receiving the drawback upon the real weight. Another device was, to receive the drawback, and then re-land the tobacco; another, to impose on the custom-house a mixture of tobacco, sand, and dust, in order to obtain the drawback. Among many methods, however, the most simple was this: not only did government pay as drawback the whole of the duty, but they allowed ten per cent for present payment: it was not considered out of the line of fair trade for a merchant to pay this duty, to receive the discount, and, by imme-

diately entering the same commodity for exportation, to gain an advantage of ten per cent, without loss, risk, or expenditure. 1733.

The duty actually paid was $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ on four-fifths of the tobacco, and $4\frac{3}{4}d.$ on the other fifth: the minister proposed that three farthings should be paid to the custom-house on placing the tobacco in warehouse. If the market of the merchant was for exportation, he was to receive back the three farthings; if for home consumption, he was to pay $4d.$ on delivering it to the buyer. The commissioners of excise were to determine questions in the first instance, but a power of appeal to be given; in London to three of the judges, and in the country to the judge of assize. Much had been said of a "standing army" of revenue officers, which the measure would create; but this standing army would consist of only 126 persons. As to the power of search, it was never to be exercised without a warrant and a constable, except in warehouses, cellars, and shops, entered at the office of excise. The practice of the customs was already stronger; they could enter with a writ of assistance without any affidavit. After summing up what he had said, he thus concluded:—

"This is the scheme which has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a light; this is the monster, the many-headed monster, which was to devour the people, and commit such ravages over the whole nation. How justly it has been represented in such a light, I shall leave it to this committee and the world without doors to judge. I have said, and I will repeat it, that whatever apprehensions and terrors people may have been brought under, from a false and malicious repre-

1733. sentation of what they neither did nor could know or understand, I am fully persuaded, that when they have duly considered the scheme I have now the honour to open to you, they will view it in another light. If it has the good fortune to meet the approbation of parliament, the people will soon feel the happy consequences of it; and when they do so, they will no longer look on those persons as their friends who have so grossly imposed on their understandings. For myself, I look upon it as a most innocent scheme; it can be hurtful to none but smugglers and unfair traders. I am certain it will be of great benefit to the revenue, and will tend to make *London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world*. If I had thought otherwise, I would never have ventured to propose it in this place."

It was impossible wholly to deny the existence of the frauds pointed out by Walpole, or to pretend that some remedy was not required. Sir John Barnard, therefore, called in the commissioners of the customs, and asked them what they thought the frauds in the customs might amount to. Most of them said they did not know; but one of them averred, that by a private calculation he had made, they might amount to 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a year. Being asked whether, if the officers of the customs did their duty, most of these frauds would be prevented, they answered in the affirmative. Upon this statement, loose and partial as it was, the opposition urged that it was needless to employ the excise, when the evil might be remedied without such assistance; attributed the whole plan to the minister's love of arbitrary power; and called in the aid of that general declamation which had already roused the passions of the people. Pulteney, unable to

denounce the measure as tyrannical, laughed at it as ridiculous: he said, the liberal offers of the minister put him in mind of Sir Epicure Mammon in the Alchemist, who was gulled of his money by fine promises; "he was to get the philosopher's stone, and every thing else he could desire; but all ended at last in some little thing for curing the itch." 1733.

After a long debate, the first resolution was put, when there appeared 266 for it and 205 against it. As Sir Robert got into his carriage, about two o'clock in the morning, some of the mob caught him by the cloak; but his son, Edward Walpole, and General Churchill, interfered, and prevented their doing him any injury. On the 16th, the report was agreed to, after a vehement discussion, by a majority of 249 against 189. The bill was read a first time on the 4th of April; and after two divisions, the second reading was fixed for that day se'nnight, by 236 against 200. A motion for printing the bill was negatived by a majority of only sixteen; and another, that the city of London should be heard by counsel, was rejected in a full house by only seventeen. The opposition, animated by the struggle, prepared for still sharper contests.

But the minister had in his own mind resolved to abandon the bill. With this view he summoned a meeting of the principal members of the House of Commons who supported his project, and desired to know their opinions on the expediency of pressing the measure: all were in favour of perseverance. Sir Robert reserved

1733. himself till he had heard every one who wished to speak, and then said, "I am conscious of having meant well; but in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; and there will be an end to the liberties of England, if supplies are to be raised by the sword. If, therefore, the resolution is to proceed with the bill, I will instantly request the king's permission to resign." * This, of course, put an end to discussion; and on the day fixed for the second reading of the bill, the minister moved its postponement to the 12th of June, a day on which it was understood the house would not sit.

The scheme
given up.

Thus was defeated a measure calculated solely for the purpose of improving the collection of the revenue. That Walpole intended to acquire arbitrary power for himself or his sovereign, by assimilating the collection of the tax on tobacco to that of the tax on malt, is too absurd a notion to be now entertained by any one. Nor can it well be doubted that his project, if carried into effect, would have been useful to his country. His only fault in this matter, if he were faulty, was, that seeing the tumult against him, he did not so modify his scheme as to introduce the benefit of the warehousing system and check the gross frauds of the customs, avoiding the unpopular mention of the excise.

The minister, in giving up the bill, took care to shew,

* Historical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States, quoted in Coxe's Walpole.

1733.

contrary to the belief of the opposition, that he retained his place in the king's favour and his power in the cabinet. Several peers who held office had turned against him on this occasion; and no sooner was the measure abandoned than they were all dismissed. Lords Chesterfield, Burlington, and Clinton, in England; the Duke of Montrose, Lords Stair and Marchmont, in Scotland, suffered in this manner for their defection. The vengeance of Walpole was carried further: Lord Clinton lost not only his post of lord of the bedchamber, but likewise the lord lieutenancy of Devonshire; the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham were deprived of the command of the king's horse and the king's horse-guards. These last dismissals excited some ferment: Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent officers not above the rank of colonels of regiments being deprived of their commissions otherwise than by judgment of a court-martial, or address from both houses of parliament. It was easy to shew the unconstitutional nature of a measure which went to make the army independent of the head of the state; but it was not so easy to justify the exercise of the prerogative in the particular instance. Walpole implied in his speech, that because the king had refused some very unreasonable demand, the officers in question had resolved to oppose in every thing the measures of government; but this is a vague charge. It is fit that persons of all political opinions, provided they be loyal to the king upon the throne, should be allowed to serve their country in war; and it were most unjust, that because an officer has engaged himself

1733. to combat against a foreign enemy or a domestic rebel, he should be deprived of his original right of supporting or opposing a minister. He who accepts a civil office binds himself to the administration; he who takes a commission in the army only engages to defend the state. This distinction has now obtained; and the cashiering of an officer for his political opinions is an event which seldom happens, and is never avowed.

On the other hand it must be said, that if Walpole used his power unjustifiably, his adversaries, in their animosity against him, totally lost sight of the public good. It is idle to dispute whether party be a good or an evil; it is in itself only a powerful instrument, and those who wield it are culpable or praiseworthy according to the purpose to which they apply it. The very bond of party is, that men should in some instances give up their individual opinion to the general body with which they act; but this organised discipline, when employed systematically against a minister, can only be justified on the ground that he is acting in a way to ruin or enslave his country. No partial difference of opinion, no mere question of degree, and, above all, no personal dislike, is sufficient to excuse a member of parliament for opposing a measure he thinks to be right, and supporting one he thinks to be wrong. Nothing but a variance upon some point vital to the honour or welfare of the country, can make systematic hostility to the minister a public duty. Judging of Pulteney and the whig members of opposition by this rule, it is difficult to find an excuse for their un-

sparing and organised hostility to the administration of Walpole.* 1733.

A marriage was made at this time between the Prince of Orange, and Anne, Princess Royal of Great Britain. A most loyal address, on the virtues of the House of Orange, was presented on this occasion by the House of Commons. A wooden gallery being erected from St. James's to the Lutheran chapel adjoining, which was left standing a long time, and somewhat obstructed the view from Marlborough House; the old duchess said peevishly, "I wonder when my neighbour George will take away his orange chest."†

Marriage of
the Princess
Royal.

During the session which followed the failure of the excise bill, an attempt was made to fix upon the minister an intention of reviving that hated scheme. But on his declaration that he was not so mad as ever again to engage in any thing that looked like an excise, other plans were resorted to by the opposition. The most important of these was a proposal to repeal the Septennial 1734.

* In the text, I have merely adopted and copied the sentiments of Speaker Onslow, who tells us,—"There is nothing more certain than that, by some fatal darkness of understanding or imbecility of heart, many persons, otherwise of great probity and honour, have suffered themselves to be made instruments and supports of these factions, and have been brought to believe (*what is, in truth, the common bond of all party unions, and only justifiable where the constitution is really in danger from the settled plan of an administration for that purpose,*) that they might very honestly act against their conscience in particulars, in order in general to pull down one man they did not like, and to set up another they did; nay, to make it a point of honour and fidelity to their friends so to do."—*ONSLow's Remarks. Vide COXE's Walpole, App.*

† Reminiscences.

1734. Bill; a motion which had been long delayed by the reluctance of Pulteney and his whig friends to attack a measure of which they had been the promoters. At length, however, they complied, and appeared in such numbers, that of the old members of the house, a majority of those who had voted in favour of the bill in 1715 now voted against it. The speeches delivered on this occasion by Wyndham and Walpole are much celebrated, but perhaps not justly so. The argument is somewhat vague, and the invective greatly exaggerated. Each speaker seems so intent upon what was, indeed, the real point in dispute, viz. the merits of Walpole's administration, as to neglect the question before the house. A passage of Wyndham's speech, relating to the king, shews the violence of party spirit at the time. He had been drawing a hideous portrait of Walpole as a supposed minister; heated by his own violence, he thus continues:

“ I am still not prophesying, I am only supposing; and the case I am going to suppose I hope will never happen. But with such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information or for some other reason, unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people, weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case has never happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws. The existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we

cannot prevent by act of parliament, but the existence of such a parliament I think we may; and as such a parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the repeal of it." 1734.

Walpole, in reply, made a bitter declamation against Bolingbroke, whom he styled an anti-minister. The elections were conducted with great heat. The neutrality of Great Britain in the continental war, and the excise scheme, were popular topics for declamation; the latter especially in Scotland, where the frauds in the customs had been still more extensive than in England, and therefore combined a larger party of corrupt and dishonest men in their support. Even in the county of Norfolk, the two Whig candidates, Coke and Morden, were defeated by two Tories, Wodehouse and Bacon. The new parliament met on the 14th of January. In a division upon the address, the opposition mustered 185 against 265. Their subsequent efforts, however, were not adequate to this beginning; and as Walpole did not wish to provoke a contest, the session was not marked by any debates of interest. 1735.

In the next year, an act which passed for taxing British spirits raised much discontent among the people, which was aggravated by the great influx of Irish labourers, who supplanted the English, not only at hay and corn harvest, but at weaving and other sorts of labour. A tumult raised on these grounds was, however, speedily suppressed. 1736.
Gin Act.

A more formidable riot took place at Edinburgh, since Porteous riot.

1736. known by the name of the unhappy victim of it. A smuggler of the name of Wilson, who was sentenced to be hanged for robbing a collector of the revenue, contrived, during the performance of divine service, to abet the escape of a fellow-criminal from the midst of his guards. This daring act shewed so strongly the dispositions of the people, that the magistrates ordered the city-guard to attend the execution with loaded fire-arms. The sentence was carried into effect without the smallest resistance; but at the moment when the executioner was cutting down the corpse, the crowd rushed forward, and forcing their way through the guards, attempted to seize the body. Some stones were thrown, and several soldiers were wounded; upon which Captain Porteous, who commanded the guard, ordered them to fire: five persons in the crowd were killed, and several wounded. Captain Porteous was brought to trial: it was proved that the magistrates had retired; and the verdict itself recorded that "he and his guards were attacked and beat with several stones of a considerable bigness, thrown by the multitude, whereby several of the soldiers were bruised and wounded." Still, as he had given orders to fire without the authority of the civil magistrate, he was found guilty, and condemned to death.

The king being at this time in Hanover, the queen regent, by the advice of the ministers, sent down a reprieve for six weeks, in order to give full time for inquiry. But the populace had been worked up to a state of exasperation, and were rendered savage by the recent shedding of blood. A report was current, that in four days' time,

if Porteous was not then executed according to his sentence, 1736.
 the prison-doors would be set on fire ; but the magistrates,
 not being able to ascertain any foundation for this report,
 took no precaution. This negligence was of serious conse-
 quence. On the evening of the 7th September, about a Sept. 7.
 quarter before ten, they were informed that a few boys had
 seized the drum in the suburb of the West Port, and beat
 it in the Grass-Market. At six minutes before ten they
 gave orders to call out the guard ; but before the clock
 struck, a mob rushed in, and getting possession of the
 guard-room, seized the firelocks and Lochaber axes.
 They occupied all the gates of the city, broke open the
 shops for ammunition, and drove away the provost and
 magistrates, who attempted to defend the gaol. Gathering
 numbers and audacity, they set fire to the gate of the
 prison, forced the turnkeys to release all the prisoners,
 seized Captain Porteous, dragged him to the Grass-Market,
 and hung him on a dyer's post. As soon as he was dead,
 the crowd dispersed ; the muskets were replaced in the
 guard-room, and before morning the town was in a state
 of the utmost tranquillity. The rioters never met with
 opposition, and were not visited with punishment. Large
 rewards were offered by the government, but they did
 not induce a single informer to betray his countrymen.
 Indeed, the more rigid Calvinists spoke of the act as
 performed by the hand of God, and of all attempts to
 discover the actors as grievous persecution.

This very daring and successful outrage caused much 1737.
 debate in parliament ; but the minister taking no part, it
 all ended in an act to disqualify the provost, and to levy

1737. a fine of 2000*l.* on the town of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous.*

March 14. Reduction of debt. Sir John Barnard brought forward in this session his plan for lowering the interest of the public debt to three per cent. A principal part of his scheme went to convert perpetual annuities into annuities for limited terms, as four per cent for forty-seven years, five per cent for thirty-one years, and so on up to ten per cent for twelve years; the sinking fund to pay the difference. But Walpole, who was against any lowering of the interest, could least of all bear a plan to lock up the sinking fund, which he was now grown to consider as so much loose cash, to be used for any occasional expense.

An act of this session, for the regulation of playhouses, is worthy of mention. In the reign of Elizabeth, the golden age of the drama, theatres were placed under the control of the master of the revels, and were, besides, subject to the general direction of the privy council. Charles the Second gave the office of master of the revels to Killigrew, his jester, and so favoured the license of the stage, that no respectable woman could go to the play without a mask. Of late years, this license had taken a political direction, and the minister was brought daily on the stage as an object of satire and buffoonery. Walpole procured from the manager of the theatre in Goodman's Fields, and shewed to members of both sides the house,

* Sir Walter Scott has founded upon the Porteous riot a well-known novel: I may be permitted to say, that the character of Jeannie Deans is, perhaps, the most original of the creations of that wonderful writer.

a farce called the Golden Rump, abounding in passages of sedition and profaneness, which had been offered for representation. As it was impossible to disguise the evil, a bill passed the House of Commons with little difficulty, empowering the lord chamberlain to forbid the representation of any theatrical piece. Lord Chesterfield made an ingenious speech against the bill in the House of Lords; but it finally passed into a law.

1737.

That a public theatre is a national object, will hardly be denied. It is fit, therefore, that it should be placed under regulation; for it were a general grievance, that no serious person or modest woman should be able to attend it. Nor is this restriction at all to be compared to those which are sometimes placed on the liberty of the press. The license of the press has great advantages to counterbalance it; the license of the theatre hardly any: restraint on the press is a great evil; on the theatre a very trifling one. It is not on the stage that the liberties of a people are to be vindicated: the drama is a school of morals, and not of politics: Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, are in no danger of being prohibited. In a despotic state, generous political sentiments will not be permitted on the stage; in a free one, they are not required. The lord chamberlain, in a country where public opinion is allowed to express itself, is responsible to that opinion: nor has it been found in practice, that his wand can drive away the spirits of wit and humour.

Lord Talbot, who had succeeded Sir Peter King as chancellor, had made himself acquainted with the business of his important office, and was rising in reputation, when

February.
Death of the
chancellor.

1737. he was attacked by a fatal illness. On his death, Walpole fixed his eye upon Sir Philip Yorke, late attorney-general, then chief justice of the King's Bench. Yorke hesitated to exchange a permanent for a political situation; but Walpole, knowing that he had a professional jealousy of Mr. Fazakerley, said, that if he refused, Mr. Fazakerley should have the office. "Fazakerley? Impossible! he is a Tory, if not a Jacobite," replied the chief justice. "All very true," answered Sir Robert, taking out his watch; "but if you do not accept before one o'clock, Fazakerley, by two, will be lord keeper, and as stanch a Whig as any in England." Yorke became Baron Hardwicke and lord keeper.*

Dissensions
in the royal
family.

The dissensions which broke out at this time in the royal family possess in themselves little interest for the reader of the present day. Their consequences, however, were most important; for to these dissensions is, in a great measure, to be attributed the dislike conceived by the Princess of Wales to the Whig ministry, and the education of her son in the principles of the Tories, the enemies of her husband's enemies.

Frederic, Prince of Wales, born at Hanover in 1707, was educated, much to the displeasure of the English, in Germany. A marriage was projected between him and his cousin, the Princess Amelia, daughter of Frederic William, King of Prussia, and Sophia Dorothy, sister of George the Second. But the two royal fathers had, from their youth, conceived a violent antipathy to each other, and omitted no

* Memoirs of Lord Orford, vol. i. p. 138. Editor's note.

opportunity of indulging and inflaming it by those petty wounds which those who hate with attention know so well how to inflict. The prince, finding that amid these jars the affair made little progress, resolved to go himself to Berlin, and conclude the marriage: but the Queen of Prussia, in the excess of her joy, had the indiscretion to inform the English envoy of this intention. The Prince of Wales was instantly sent for to London, and received by his father with marked coldness. 1737.

His natural disposition was neither obedient nor honest. When very young, the queen his mother used to excuse his faults, by saying they were mere boyish tricks. His governor one day replied, "No, madam; they are not boyish tricks, but low and roguish tricks."*

Thus estranged from the court, the Prince of Wales connected himself with Bolingbroke, Carteret, Chesterfield, Cobham, and Sir William Wyndham. He received into his household Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, the rising opposition of the day. He affected the patronage of literature, and a zeal for the British constitution. While he became every day more and more the centre of opposition, the king grew more and more averse to him. It is affirmed that the Duchess of Marlborough offered him her granddaughter, Lady Diana Spencer, with a fortune of 100,000*l*. He accepted the proposal, and was only prevented from going further by the interference of Walpole. He complained of his narrow income. Upon his consenting to marry the Princess of Saxe Gotha, however, his allowance was raised 1736.

* Memoirs of Lord Orford, vol. i. p. 66.

1737. to 50,000*l.*, which, with the emoluments of the duchy of Cornwall, made his income little short of 60,000*l.* a year. But his friends represented to him that George the First had allowed his son 100,000*l.* a year, out of a civil list of 700,000*l.*, while he had less than 60,000*l.* out of a civil list of 800,000*l.* Bolingbroke advised, therefore, that the prince should go to parliament for a permanent allowance of 100,000*l.* a year. Pulteney, when applied to by the prince, although at first surprised at the proposal, consented to make the motion himself. Sir John Barnard promised his support; and Sir William Wyndham, it is said, answered for the Tories.*

With such expectations, the prince was sanguine of success. When Mr. Doddington, whose support he endeavoured in vain to obtain, represented to him how ill a face such a motion would have at a time when his father was supposed to be seriously ill, he answered, that the king might yet linger many years, and that, on the other side, the circumstance had its advantages, and would procure him some votes.† He rejected at once an offer from the king to settle 50,000*l.* a year upon him for his own life.

Feb. 22. On the day following this offer, Pulteney moved, in the House of Commons, an address, requesting the king to settle 100,000*l.* a year on the Prince of Wales, and the same jointure on the princess that the queen had when she was Princess of Wales. This motion, so offensive to the king, and so directly interfering in the domestic concerns of the royal family, was negatived by a majority of only

* Doddington's Diary. † Ibid.

thirty in a house of 438 members: nay, the minister would have been left in a minority, had not forty-five Tories, preferring the maintenance of their principles to party or personal animosity, walked out of the house in a body before the division. It is fair to say, however, that among the circumstances which influenced the house, was a statement made by one of the prince's officers, that the king himself had approved of a regulation of the prince's household, which brought his yearly expense to 63,000*l.*, without any allowance for acts of charity or generosity. This was utterly untrue; but coming from such authority, Walpole could not have contradicted it in the House of Commons without accusing the prince of attempting to impose upon parliament by a wilful falsehood.

1737.

The next step taken by the prince was far more outrageous. The king and queen being at Hampton Court, he carried the princess away, in the pangs of child-birth, to St. James's palace, where she was that night delivered of a daughter. When the queen arrived the next morning to visit the princess, and inquired from the prince the cause of this abrupt and irregular step, he pretended that the suddenness with which the princess had been seized rendered it necessary to go to London to obtain immediate assistance. The king, highly offended, refused to listen to this explanation, which, indeed, was utterly false. He resolved to remove the prince from his palace, and ordered a message to the following effect to be delivered to him, which he declared he thought full gentle enough:—

“ The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me are so contradictory to all your

1737. actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed on by them. You removed the princess twice, in the week immediately preceding her delivery, from the place of my residence, in expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her labour: and both times, upon your return, you industriously concealed the circumstance from me and the queen. You at last hurried the princess from Hampton Court, without giving me any notice, in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise, and tenderness for the princess as an excuse. This extravagant and undutiful behaviour cannot be palliated or disguised by specious words only; and until you withdraw your confidence from those by whose advice you are encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of those who foment the division you have made in my family. In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a due sense of submission, I may be induced to pardon what at present I most justly resent."

All the correspondence which passed on this occasion was printed by order of the king, and delivered to the foreign ministers. Those who reviewed the quarrel without prejudice came to the conclusion, that the behaviour of the king in the beginning had been severe and ungenerous; and that the conduct of the prince in his resentment had shewn him to be rash, headstrong, undutiful, and false.

In the course of these dissensions Lord Hardwicke shewed great reluctance to offend the heir-apparent, and

applying to Walpole the quotation, "*Turno tempus erit*," 1737.
 regretted his uncompromising spirit. A lord chancellor
 has little sympathy with a prime minister; retirement
 from office carries him to a barren insignificance, and
 Lord Hardwicke now probably trembled, as he reflected
 that he had left the secure dignity of a chief justice for
 the precarious pinnacle of the law.

The year 1737 closed with the death of Queen Caro-
 line. She had been some time afflicted with a rupture, and, Death of the
 queen,
 Nov. 20.
 from motives of delicacy, had concealed the nature of her
 disorder from her medical attendants. During twelve days
 and nights of pain and agony, she maintained the serenity
 of her temper, and shewed a pious submission to the will
 of God. She declared, that she had made it the business
 of her life to discharge her religious and social duties;
 that she had been a hearty well-wisher to the liberties of
 the people; that she hoped God would pardon her in-
 firmities, and accept her endeavours in favour of the
 sincerity of her intentions. A little before she died, she
 said to the physician, "How long can this last?" and on
 his answering, "Your majesty will soon be eased of your
 pains," she replied, "The sooner the better." She then
 repeated a prayer of her own composing; and as her
 speech faltered, requested her relations, who stood by the
 bed-side, to kneel down and pray for her. While they
 were reading the prayers, she said, "Pray aloud, that I
 may hear;" and when the Lord's Prayer was concluded,
 she calmly uttered, "So," and, waving her hand, lay down
 and expired.

Queen Caroline had passed part of her youth at the

1737. court of Berlin, and received her education under the superintendence of Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia, sister of George the First, from whom she is supposed to have imbibed that fondness for metaphysical learning which formed so remarkable a part of her character. From her aunt, likewise, she probably derived that strong attachment to the Protestant religion, which made her in early youth refuse the hand of the Archduke Charles, afterwards Emperor of Germany. In 1705, George, then Electoral Prince of Hanover, repaired incognito to Augs-burgh, and was so charmed with the beauty of her person, the elegance of her manners, and the liveliness of her conversation, that he determined to make her a proposal of marriage. His offer was accepted, and he never found reason to repent of his choice. The handsome face of the princess, indeed, was somewhat, though not greatly, altered by the small-pox, and her figure spoiled by corpulence; but the serenity of her temper, the strength of her judgment, and the vigour of her faculties, gave her a prevailing influence with her husband, which she retained to the last moment of her life. She was fond of conversing and corresponding with men of learning, and particularly with divines, whom she often perplexed with questions concerning the doctrines of the different churches. Hoadly, Clarke, Hare, and Sherlock, were among the chief of those whom she consulted. Her dressing-room in the morning was filled not only with courtiers and ladies of the household, but with dignitaries of the church; and the conversation passed rapidly from the events of the last ball to the merits of the newest metaphysical or theological

1737.

treatise. It was at her desire that Clarke defended the tendency of the doctrines of Sir Isaac Newton against Leibnitz, with whom she maintained a correspondence; Clarke afterwards dedicated to her the printed volume of this famous controversy. Butler, the author of "the Analogy," was mentioned to her by Secker while he was king's chaplain. The queen, turning to Archbishop Blackburne, said she thought Butler was dead; upon which the archbishop replied, "No, madam, but he is buried." Soon afterwards, without solicitation, she appointed him clerk of her closet, and ordered him to attend her every day from seven to nine in the evening. After her death, Walpole, in deference to her judgment, gave him a bishopric. Courayer, who was pensioned by her bounty, dedicated to her his translation of Fra Paolo Sarpi. It was whispered after her death, that her attention to controversy had so far unsettled her opinions, that when, upon her death-bed, Archbishop Potter attended to administer the sacrament, she did not permit him to do so. Upon his return, the courtiers, in the ante-chamber, crowding round him, asked, "Has the queen received?" he answered evasively, "She is in a heavenly disposition."* Many instances might be given of Queen Caroline's generosity. She obtained the pardon of Savage, when condemned for a capital offence; and afterwards allowed him 50*l.* a-year, on condition of an annual poem. With a tenderness highly becoming her sex and situation, she gave large succours to the Roman Catholics and Jacobites,

* Reminiscences.

1737.

who got access to her through the Duchess of Norfolk. She procured the recall of Lord Lansdowne and of Carte the historian, who were notoriously attached to the Stuarts. Her presents and charities amounted to near a fifth part of her income. Scandal invented a report, which was carried by the activity of slander, and pointed by the sarcasm of Pope, that on her death-bed she had refused her blessing to her eldest son. The fact was, however, that the queen sent her blessing, with a message of forgiveness, to the prince, and only declined to see him, lest his presence should irritate the king. It may be asked, how came the prince not to contradict the prevailing rumour?

Queen Caroline, in her last moments, was not forgetful of the minister whom she so highly favoured. She said to him, "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity:" pointing to the king, she added, "I recommend his majesty to you." The minister was somewhat alarmed lest the monarch should be jealous of this recommendation, but without reason; some time afterwards, the king, shewing him an intercepted letter, in which it was said "that the minister had lost his sole protector," added, "It is false; you remember that, on her death-bed, the queen recommended me to you."

During the life of the queen her political influence was somewhat veiled; when Walpole came to transact business, she always rose, curtsied, and left the room. But after her death, the king, overcome with grief, no longer wore any disguise. In an audience which he gave to Horace Walpole upon his arrival from Holland, he

spoke, with tears gushing from his eyes, of the virtues of his queen, her noble and calm disposition, her presence of mind, her prudence and sweetness of temper, which often moderated and assuaged his own vivacity and resentment. He referred to the assistance which he received from her in governing such a humoursome and inconstant people: incidents of state, he said, of a rough, difficult, and disagreeable nature, would, by her previous conferences with his able minister, be made easy and palatable; but that he must now lead a helpless and disconsolate life during the remainder of a troublesome reign. Then recovering himself a little, he called to mind her death-bed recommendation of Walpole, and added, "This is now my only resource; upon this I must entirely depend." No one ever succeeded to the place of Queen Caroline; but a new mistress appeared in the palace. This was a Madame Walmoden, who became Countess of Yarmouth. For some time George had wished to part with Lady Suffolk (Mrs. Howard); but the queen, accustomed to this harmless rival, put every obstacle in the way, so that the king at last exclaimed, "Why will you not let me part with an old deaf woman, of whom I am weary?" The Princess Amelia at length broke the connexion. Madame Walmoden captivated the king during his residence at Hanover. She had two children by him.

1737.

In the following year began the dissensions on the subject of Spanish commerce. The opposition endeavoured from the first to inflame these disputes into a war; but, somewhat inconsistently, proposed to reduce the military establishment from 17,400 men to 12,000. The minister,

1738.

1738. who wished to maintain peace with Spain, did not pretend any foreign danger as a pretence for keeping up the army; but openly declared, that even if the government had not a foreign enemy under the sun, the danger from the pretender, and the disaffected part of the king's subjects, was a sufficient reason for keeping up the army.

Walpole's
speech on
the army.

“ I am sorry to see, Sir, that this is a sort of fear which many amongst us endeavour to turn into ridicule; and for that purpose they tell us, that though many of our subjects are discontented and uneasy, very few are disaffected. I must beg leave to be of a different opinion; for I believe most of the discontents and uneasinesses that appear among the people proceed originally from disaffection. No man of common prudence will profess himself openly a Jacobite. By so doing, he not only may injure his private fortune, but he must render himself less able to serve effectually the cause he has embraced. Your right Jacobite, Sir, disguises his true sentiments. He roars out for revolution principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers who every day endeavour to sow discontents among the people, by persuading them that the constitution is in danger, and that they are unnecessarily loaded with many and heavy taxes. These men know that discontent and disaffection are like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions; and therefore they hope, if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. These are the men whom we have most reason to fear. They are, I am afraid, more numerous than most gentlemen imagine; and I wish I could not say they have been lately joined, and very much assisted, by some gentlemen, who, I am convinced, have always been, and still are, very sincere and true friends to our present happy establishment.”

Sir John Hynde Cotton rose in reply :

1738.

“ Sir, I do own it gives me a good deal of surprise to hear gentlemen who act upon revolution principles talk in a manner so utterly at variance with the language of Whigs in former times. Sir, I know not what Whigs the honourable gentleman has been acquainted with ; but I have had the honour and happiness to be intimate with many gentlemen of that denomination. I have likewise, Sir, read the writings of many authors who have espoused those principles ; I have sat in this house during the most material debates that have happened between them and the Tories ; and I can declare, from my own experience, that I never knew one who acted on true whig principles vote for a standing army in time of peace. What the principles of the Whigs in former days were, I can only learn from reading or information. But I have heard of Whigs who were against all unlimited votes of credit ; I have heard of Whigs who looked upon open corruption as the greatest curse that could befall any nation ; I have heard of Whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments the greatest bulwark of their liberties ; and I have heard of a whig administration who have resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and have revenged insults offered to the British flag. These, Sir, are the principles, if I am rightly informed, that once characterised the true Whigs. Let gentlemen apply these characters to their present conduct, and then, laying their hands upon their hearts, let them ask themselves if they are Whigs.”

Sir J. Hynde
Cotton's
reply.

Thus the minister endeavoured to maintain his power by representing all who opposed him as secret adherents or unconscious favourers of the pretender ; while the opposition, on the other hand, tried to make it appear that Walpole had abandoned the principles of the Whigs,

1738. which they, many of them rather awkwardly, took upon themselves to vindicate.

April 13.
Resolution
to prohibit
publication
of debates.

During this session, the speaker called the attention of the house to the publication of the debates, and hoped the house would find some method of preventing the evil. Sir William Yonge, Pulteney, Wyndham, and Winnington, agreed in the necessity of prohibiting these reports. Walpole urged what seemed a very plausible reason for checking the practice complained of. He said that he had read some debates of the house in which he had been made to speak the very reverse of what he meant; that he had read others, where all the wit, learning, and argument, had been thrown into one side, and on the other nothing but what was low, mean, and ridiculous; and yet, when it came to the question, the decision had gone against the side which, upon the face of the debate, had reason and justice to support it. "So that, had I been a stranger to the proceedings, and to the nature of the arguments themselves, I must have thought this to have been one of the most contemptible assemblies on the face of the earth. What notion, then, Sir, can the public, who have no other means of being informed of the debates than what they have from these papers, entertain of the wisdom and abilities of an assembly, who are represented to carry every point against the strongest and plainest argument?" Thus ably supported, a resolution was unanimously passed, declaring, that any publication containing a report of the debates, as well during the recess as the sitting of parliament, was a high indignity to, and a notorious breach of the privileges of, the house.

The only effect of this resolution was to render the account of the debates less authentic than before. The London Magazine affixed Roman names to the speakers, and the Gentleman's Magazine gave an account of the proceedings in the senates of Lilliput and Brobdignag. It has since been discovered, that the best way to prevent the misrepresentations of which Walpole complained, is to connive at the free publication of the debates. Those newspapers which represent the speeches the most faithfully are naturally the most sought for; and none but the very weak, or the very factious, are pleased with a false account of an argument contrary to their opinions. 1738.

The year 1739 is memorable for the disputes on the Spanish question. The address proposed by the minister having been carried by a majority of only 28, in a house of 492 members, the opposition chose, singularly enough, this occasion for discontinuing their attendance in parliament. The secession, as it was called, was announced by Sir William Wyndham in a very emphatic harangue. He called the majority a faction against the liberties and properties of their fellow-subjects, and said that he had not found a single person out of doors pretend to justify the convention. "I here, Sir," he added, "bid a final adieu to this house. Perhaps, when another parliament shall succeed, I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity; I therefore appeal, Sir, to a future, free, uninfluenced House of Commons. In the mean time, I shall conclude with doing that duty to my country I am still at liberty to perform, which is, to pray for its preservation. May, therefore, that Power, which has so often 1739.
The secession.

March 9.

1739. and so visibly interposed in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation, continue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture, when the insolence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution !”

Mr. Pelham rose to move his committal to the Tower ; but Walpole preventing him, made a reply not less ardent than the harangue of his opponent. Lord Chatham used to say, that this speech was one of the finest he ever heard : Lord Cornbury spoke of it in like terms of eulogy.*

Walpole took advantage of the secession to pass some bills for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The West India colonies were permitted to carry their sugar to foreign countries in English bottoms, without first landing it in Great Britain. The cloth manufactures were favoured by additional duties laid on the export of wool, and increased facilities given to its import from Ireland.

Motion for
repeal of the
Test Act re-
jected.

A motion was made at this time for the repeal of the Test Act, but, notwithstanding the absence of the Tories, was negatived by a majority of 188 to 89. In fact, the minister did not think the House of Hanover sufficiently firm upon the throne to venture to disoblige the church. On one occasion, Dr. Chandler, at the head of a deputation of dissenters, having waited upon him to remind him of his repeated assurances of good will to their cause, he told them, that whatever were his private inclinations, the attempt was improper, and the time was not yet arrived. “ You have so repeatedly returned this answer,” replied

* Walpoliana.

Dr. Chandler, "that I trust you will give me leave to ask you when the time will come?" "If you require a specific answer," said the minister, "I will give it you in a word—Never." In fact, however, Walpole, though he could not venture upon so decided a measure as the repeal of the Sacramental Test, did much to improve the condition of the dissenters.

1739.

The secession of the Tories did not last long. When war was openly declared against Spain, they thought themselves at liberty to return to their seats. About this time, the Duke of Argyll quarrelled with the minister, and openly opposed his measures. He was a man of greedy disposition and irritable temper: his discontent arose, in all probability, from personal motives; but the convention with Spain served to colour his change of politics. The opposition in the House of Lords had grown, of late years, very formidable. The Duke of Argyll was a declamatory, but a ready, graceful, and animated speaker; Lord Carteret was eloquent, classical, and well informed; Lord Bathurst was a practised and sensible debater; the Duke of Bedford spoke ably on questions of trade and business of detail. As the opposition in parliament grew stronger, the opposition in the cabinet grew bolder. Lord Hardwicke spoke so violently against Spain in the House of Lords, that Walpole, who stood behind the throne, could not help exclaiming, during his speech, "Bravo, Colonel Yorke; bravo!" Newcastle caballed, as was his nature, against his leader; and on Lord Hervey's nomination to the privy seal, tried to induce his brother and Lord Hardwicke to resign. Walpole himself was anxious to retire; but the king said to him

1740.

1740. earnestly, "Will you desert me in my difficulties?" At another time, Newcastle complained to Walpole that he was not allowed the liberty of giving his opinion. Sir Robert indignantly replied, "What do you mean? the war is yours: you have had the conduct of it: I wish you joy of it." They parted in mutual anger.

1741. The last session of this parliament assembled in the month of November 1740. On the 11th of February following, Mr. Sandys gave notice that he intended, on the ensuing Friday, to open a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the chancellor of the exchequer. The minister immediately rose, received the intimation with great composure, thanked Mr. Sandys for his notice, and after requesting a candid and impartial hearing, declared that he would not fail to attend the house, as he was not conscious of any crime to deserve accusation. He laid his hand on his breast, and said, with some emotion,

"*Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.*"

Pulteney observed, that the right honourable gentleman's logic and Latin were equally inaccurate, and that he had misquoted Horace, who wrote *nulla pallescere culpa*. The minister defended his quotation; and upon Pulteney's repeating his assertion, offered a wager of a guinea. Pulteney accepted the challenge, and referred the decision to Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the house, a man distinguished for classical learning. Hardinge deciding against Walpole, the guinea was immediately thrown to Pulteney, who caught it, and holding it up to the house, exclaimed, "It is the only money I have received from the treasury

for many years, and it shall be the last." A very few years altered this resolution. 1741.

On the 13th of February, Mr. Sandys made his important motion. The gallery was crowded long before the house met; many members secured their seats at six o'clock in the morning. At one o'clock Mr. Sandys began his speech: the arguments he used may be thus summed up:—

Motion for
the removal
of Walpole.
Feb. 13.

In absolute monarchies the people may suffer, but cannot publicly complain: the consequence is, that discontents gather till they burst into insurrection, and destroy the sovereign, together with his ministers. In England, such a calamity is prevented by the free advice and information given by the Commons to the Crown against an unpopular minister and injurious measures. Every one knew that the people were at that moment discontented, and looked for redress only from that house. On reviewing the policy of the minister, the cause of that discontent would speedily be found. In foreign affairs, departing from the principles of the grand alliance, we had favoured our old enemy, the House of Bourbon, and had abandoned our natural ally, the House of Austria. We had made treaties one more injurious and disgraceful than another. The most pernicious of all these was the treaty of Hanover, in which we had been duped by France, when we had an opportunity of duping her. Since that time we had seen the emperor lose Sicily and Naples, suffered France to gain Lorraine, and allowed the power of Austria to fall into its present miserable state of depression. On adverting to our domestic situation, it would

1741. be found that our finances had gained nothing by the dishonourable peace we had so long maintained. The army debt had been increased from 400,000*l.* to above two millions, of which part had been paid from the sinking fund, to the great advantage of one person. The national debt had not diminished since 1727, although the sinking fund had, since that time, produced fifteen millions, all of which had been spent in Spithead expeditions and Hyde Park reviews. The constitution had greatly suffered from keeping up a much larger standing army than was necessary, and, above all, by the prevalence of corruption. Many penal laws of an arbitrary tendency; new useless offices created; all inquiry into the management of the public money resisted; expenses of the civil list increased; officers dismissed for voting against the excise scheme, one of the weakest and most violent projects ever proposed by any minister: these were the characteristic features of a corrupt and profligate administration. The conduct of the war was equally blameable: by the negligence used in furnishing our fleets, we had allowed the enemy to escape. Things being thus, he should now name the author of all these calamities: he meant the right honourable gentleman who sat opposite to him. If it should be asked why he imputed all these evils to one person, he replied, because that one person grasped in his own hands every branch of government, and made a blind submission to his will, both in elections and parliament, the only terms of present favour and future expectation. The very length of his power was in itself highly dangerous. It was not necessary to accuse him of any specific crime: the dis-

satisfaction of the people was a sufficient cause for his removal. He concluded with moving, "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever."

1741.

Mr. Wortley Montague proposed, that, in conformity to the order of the house, which requires every member under accusation to withdraw while his conduct is examined, Sir Robert Walpole should be ordered to withdraw. He was seconded by Mr. Gybbon, who observed, that neither the life, liberty, nor estate of the minister could be affected by the decision of the question before the house. But this most unfair proposal was over-ruled; and it was agreed, that the minister, after hearing all the charges brought against him, should be the last to reply. The principal speakers in favour of the motion were, Pulteney, Bootle, Fazakerley, Pitt, and Lyttleton. On the other side, Pelham and Stephen Fox supported the minister. Sir Charles Wager, first lord of the admiralty, declared emphatically that Walpole had never for a moment delayed the issue of money required for the naval service, and had never recommended any one person to the board of admiralty. Edward Harley, nephew to Lord Oxford, brought assistance from an unexpected quarter. Although he had always opposed the measures of administration, yet, without conviction from facts and evidence, he would not censure any man. "A noble lord, to whom I had the honour to be related, has been often mentioned in this debate. He was impeached and imprisoned; by that imprisonment his years were

1741. shortened; the prosecution was carried on by the honourable person who is now the subject of your question, although he knew, at the very time, that it was unsupported by evidence. I am now, Sir, glad of this opportunity to return good for evil, and to do the honourable gentleman and his family that justice which he denied to mine." Shippen declared, "that he looked on this motion as only a scheme for turning out one minister, and bringing in another; that, as his conduct in parliament had always been regulated with a view to the good of his country, without any regard to his own private interest, it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and he would give himself no concern in the question." At the conclusion of these words, he withdrew, followed by thirty-four of his friends; an unequivocal proof that, however erroneous the principles, the uprightness of the men who professed them was beyond all doubt.

Sir Robert Walpole, encouraged by the division among his opponents, at the close of the debate rose and said:

Speech of
the minister.

"Sir, it has been observed by several gentlemen, in vindication of this motion, that if it should be carried, neither my life, liberty, nor estate, will be affected. But do the honourable gentlemen consider my character and reputation as of no moment? Is it no imputation to be arraigned before this house, in which I have sat forty years, and to have my name transmitted to posterity with disgrace and infamy? But I have the satisfaction, at the same time, to reflect, that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge, and the motives of the prosecutors. As this charge has not been reduced to specific allegations, I cannot feel myself called upon to make a specific

defence. Yet, if I had been guilty of great enormities, my opponents want neither the ability to discover them, nor the inclination to expose them. This general accusation is of itself a proof that they are moved only by personal interests. The Jacobites distress the government they would subvert; the Tories contend for party prevalence and power; the patriots, from discontent and disappointment, would change the ministry, that themselves might exclusively succeed. They have laboured this point twenty years in vain; they are impatient of longer delay. They clamour for change of measures; they mean only change of men. They speak, indeed, as if all on this side were corrupted. Whence this cry of corruption, and exclusive claim of honourable distinction? Compare the estates, characters, and fortunes of the Commons on one side, with those on the other. Let the matter be fairly investigated; survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of government, and those who are in opposition. Look round both houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talent preponderates! Are all these on one side, and none on the other? or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism? Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable word, when duly practised; but I am sorry to say, that of late it has been so hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir! why, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours: I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot! I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts: for this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and from disappointed ambition. There is not

1741.

1741. a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive he has entered into the lists of opposition."

Having thus branded his opponents, he proceeded to his defence. He went over the Hanover treaty, the pragmatic sanction, and the convention with Spain. He had acted to the best of his judgment, and his conduct had been approved by parliament. But whatever he did was equally arraigned. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked, Why is the nation wantonly burthened? If we declined guarantees, Why have we no allies? With regard to the conduct of the war, he left his defence where Sir Charles Wager had placed it. With respect to domestic affairs, he gave a satisfactory explanation of his own conduct upon the army debt. As to the sinking fund, he affirmed, that within the last sixteen or seventeen years 8,000,000*l.* of the debt had been actually discharged, and that at least 7,000,000*l.*, taken from that fund, had been applied to the relief of the land-tax. Having gone over all the points touched upon, he manfully vindicated his general conduct:—

"If my whole administration is to be scrutinised and arraigned, why are the most favourable parts to be omitted? If facts are to be accumulated on one side, why not on the other? and why may not I be permitted to speak in my *own* favour? Was I not called by the voice of the king and the nation to remedy the fatal effects of the South Sea project, and to support declining credit? Was I not placed at the head of the treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is not credit revived, and does not it now flourish? Is it not at an incredible

height? and if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved, both at home and abroad, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has not the true interest of the nation been followed? and has not trade prospered? Have gentlemen produced one instance of this exorbitant influence which I extend to all parts of the nation, of the tyranny with which I oppress those who oppose, and the liberality with which I reward those who support me? But having first invested me with a kind of mock dignity, and styled me a prime minister, they impute to me an unpardonable abuse of that chimerical authority, which they only have created and conferred. If they are really persuaded that the army is annually established by me; that I have the sole disposal of posts and honours; that I employ this power to the destruction of liberty and the diminution of commerce, let me awaken them from their delusion. Let me expose to their view the real condition of the public weal; let me shew them that the Crown has made no encroachments; that all supplies have been granted by parliament; that all questions have been debated with the same freedom as before the fatal period in which my counsels are said to have gained the ascendancy; an ascendancy from which they deduce the loss of trade, the approach of slavery, the preponderance of prerogative, and the extension of influence. But I am far from believing that they feel those apprehensions they so earnestly labour to communicate to others. I have too high an opinion of their sagacity not to conclude that, even in their own judgement, they are complaining of grievances which they do not suffer, and promoting rather their own private interest than that of the public.

1741.

“For, what is this unbounded power which is charged upon me? Is ambition imputed to me? Why then do I still continue a commoner? I, who refused a white staff and a peerage!

1741. I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders, which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in another place, it cannot be supposed to raise any resentment in this house, where many may be pleased to see those honours which their ancestors have worn restored again to the Commons. Have I given any symptoms of an avaricious disposition? Have I obtained any grant from the Crown since I have been placed at the head of the treasury? Has my conduct been different from that which others in the same station would have followed? Have I acted wrong in giving the place of auditor to my son, and in providing for my own family? I hope that their advancement will not be imputed to me as a crime, unless it shall be proved that I placed them in offices of trust and responsibility for which they were unfit.

“ But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honour to hold; and if, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable. To conclude, Sir; although I shall always be proud of the honour of any trust or confidence from his majesty, yet I shall always be ready to retire from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not that an address to his majesty, to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogative of the Crown. Therefore, for the sake of my master, without any concern for my own, I hope all those

that have a due regard for our constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, without which our constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion."

1741.

This speech made a deep impression: the motion was negatived by 290 against 106, a vast and decisive majority. A like motion was made by Lord Carteret the same day in the House of Lords, and supported by the Dukes of Bedford and Argyll, Lords Sandwich, Westmoreland, Halifax, and Bathurst. It was negatived by 108 to 59.

After this victory in parliament, Walpole, tired of party war, and growing inactive from age, fell into a sort of lethargy of power. The triumph which he had obtained was preceded by the death of Sir William Wyndham, and followed by the retirement of Bolingbroke into France. He flattered his indolence with the belief, that the opposition to his government was dispirited and dispersed; a fatal misapprehension. Many of his colleagues secretly wished his downfall. In the division in the House of Lords, several peers who had places under government did not vote, and acquired thereby the nick-name of Sneakers. Walpole, who had so intemperately deprived Lord Cobham of his regiment, was either afraid, or felt himself too secure, to resent this defection. On the other hand, the approach of an election redoubled the activity of his enemies. Lord Chesterfield went to France, to procure, by means of the Duke of Ormond, the full benefit of jacobite co-operation, and obtained, it is said, a circular letter from the pretender to his friends, to engage them to use all possible endeavours to compass Walpole's ruin. The most absurd reports respecting him were diffused among and believed

Weakness of
the ministry.

1741. by the people. It was said that he received from the ministers of France and Spain large sums to enable him to bribe the parliament; that he betrayed to them the secret of the intended operations of the war; and that he gave orders to Admiral Haddock not to molest the Spanish transports carrying troops to Italy. These rumours were obviously false; but they took their rise from an undeniable truth. Men of sense remarked, that Walpole's whole course of policy had been founded on a pacific concert with neighbouring and rival powers. To compromise, rather than resent an injury; to threaten, rather than to strike; to accept of moderate reparation, rather than to enforce, at the expense of thousands of lives and millions of treasure, the full demands of his country, had become the settled character of his government and the habitual temper of his mind. He himself said to Speaker Onslow, that he was "not cut out to carry the truncheon."* Now, therefore, when he had consented, right or wrong, to enter into a war with Spain, and to defend Maria Theresa against the united forces of the House of Bourbon and Frederic of Prussia, it was suspected, not unreasonably, that he would not rouse himself to the vigour necessary for the occasion; and that he who had spent the prime of his manhood in averting hostilities by his prudence, was not likely, in the decline of years, to acquire glory by his boldness and activity. Let us add to this, the opinion that he governed by corruption, and the weariness which long-continued power in the same person

* Walpoliana.

is sure to produce. A king, indeed, who reigns by hereditary title, the longer he lives, the more confirmed is his authority. His government gains a sort of prescriptive reverence; and the nation which obeys him, knowing that they have no voice in the disposal of his crown, feel little or no impatience for his death. But a minister derives all his authority from an appointment which may, at any time, be cancelled; and when his sway has been long continued, a new generation pants to exercise its right of guiding the choice, or controlling the nomination, of the sovereign. In the present instance, moreover, there were a number of young men, who having gratified their enthusiasm and love of fame, by declaiming against the measures of the minister, now sought to satisfy their ambition by snatching at his power.

1741.

In this state of the ministry, of parties, and of the nation, the parliament was dissolved. The contests which took place were carried on with unusual heat. In the city of Westminster, where the court had long possessed a prevailing influence, Admiral Vernon, the naval hero of the day, and Mr. Edwyn, whose wife belonged to the household of the Princess of Wales, were put up suddenly against Sir Charles Wager and Lord Sundon, one of the lords of the treasury. Sir Charles Wager, being summoned to convey the king to Holland, was absent, and Lord Sundon, being very unpopular, so much tumult took place, that the high bailiff thought it necessary to call for the assistance of a detachment of the guards. The Prince of Wales is said to have expended 12,000*l.* in this election. Pulteney and the Duchess of Marlborough spent large

Elections.

1741. sums in other places. Lord Falmouth carried many of the Cornish boroughs against the court; and the Duke of Argyll was equally successful in Scotland. These triumphs of opposition favoured the treachery of Walpole's colleagues in the ministry: Wilmington, in a letter to Doddington, congratulated him on his success at Weymouth against the candidates supported by the minister; and Newcastle made clandestine overtures to Argyll. To the treachery of some was added the neglect of others. Lord Harrington, who, as secretary of state, accompanied the king abroad, did not inform Walpole of the convention for the neutrality of Hanover till it was nearly concluded; an inattention to which he was very sensible. All these mortifications, the prospect of defeat, the triumph of his enemies, and, above all, the desertion of his friends, greatly affected his spirits. Hitherto, he had been more gay and thoughtless in society than any of the company, and when he retired to bed fell into a sound sleep before the curtains were drawn: he would now sit for a long time together in silence, with his eyes fixed, and never could sleep an hour without waking.

Dec. 4.
Meeting of
parliament.

Dec. 10.

The new parliament met on the 4th of December. Walpole, conscious of the force that was assembled against him, shewed a timidity at the outset which encouraged his enemies, and dispirited his friends. He consented, for the sake of avoiding a division, to omit a paragraph in the address relating to the Spanish war. Pulteney triumphed upon this concession; attributed it to conscious guilt; and said, with a sneer, that whatever might be the state of the

balance of power abroad, he had not for many years known that house to be so near an equilibrium. Walpole flung back these taunts, in a speech of an hour, with as much force as ever, hinted at Lord Chesterfield's mission to France, and said that if Pulteney would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation, he would second the motion. The challenge was accepted, and the 21st of January appointed for the purpose. 1741.

To the disgrace of the times of which we are treating, the warmest party contests took place on the decision of disputed elections; and that which ought to have been a question of justice, of law, and of fact, was made an opportunity of trying the strength of the contending parties in the state. Decisions on returns. The minister, on the one hand, was heard to declare that no quarter should be given in elections: on the opposition side it was esteemed infamous in any of their party to desert a committee for deciding disputed returns. The first trial of strength took place on the return for Bossiney: the party favoured by the minister carried it only by 6, the majority being 222, and the minority 216. The nomination of a chairman of the committee of elections, was carried in favour of Dr. Lee against Giles Earle, a lord of the treasury, by 242 against 238. The ministerial candidate was unpopular, as well from his avarice as from his biting jests against the patriots and the Jacobites.

The Westminster election was the next great question: Mr. Murray spoke as counsel for the petitioners, and astonished his hearers by an eloquence beyond what had ever been heard at the bar. Sir Robert rose, at near four

1741. in the morning, and spoke with unabated spirit: he contended that the military were not called in till the poll was over, and their presence absolutely necessary to save Lord Sundon's life. But all would not do; the return was annulled by a majority of 4; and it was then unanimously resolved, "that the presence of armed soldiers at an election of members of parliament is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject, a manifest violation of the freedom of election, and an open defiance of the laws and of the constitution." Two days after, the house adjourned to the 18th of January.

It was now manifest that Walpole could no longer retain his power. Every effort to recover his lost majority failed of success: the followers of victory hastened over day by day to the other camp. He could not prevail on any one to stand for Westminster in the court interest. He attempted vainly and weakly to pacify the prince, by prevailing on the king to offer him an unconditional pardon, and the addition of 50,000*l.* a year to his income. The prince replied, that he would not hearken to this or any other intimation of a like nature, so long as Sir Robert Walpole should continue in power.

1742.
Motion on
the state of
the nation.

On the 21st of January, Pulteney, instead of moving for a general committee on the state of the nation, proposed to refer to a secret committee the papers which had been presented to the house relating to the conduct of the war. Walpole exerted himself greatly in this debate, and lashed the deserters who abandoned him. In reply to Doddington, who had called his administration infamous, he said, that honourable gentleman must then have suffered

great self-mortification, as he had served with that infamous administration for sixteen years. When he had done, Mr. Pulteney said to him, that he had never heard so fine a debate on the ministerial side; and added, "Well! nobody can do what you can!" Sir Robert replied, "Yes, Yonge did better." "It was fine," said Pulteney; "but not of that weight with what you said." The motion was negatived by a majority of only 3, in a house of 503 members. On the 28th, a collateral question on the Chippenham election was carried against the minister by a majority of one. On the 2d of February, Walpole suffered his final defeat; the main question on the Chippenham election being decided against him by 241 to 225. While the committee was in the act of dividing, Walpole beckoned Sir Edward Bayntun, the member whose return was supported by the opposition, and said to him, "You are a young man; it may be useful to you to know the motives of those who are now voting against me." He then pointed out to him the members of the majority, one by one, recounting the favours which he had conferred on each, and the ingratitude he had received at their hands. It is a pity that this story has not come down to us in more detail; it would have furnished a curious page in the secret history of the country. The minister finished by telling Sir Edward that he should never again sit in that house. On the following day, the house adjourned by the king's command to the 18th.

From the time of the first vote on the Chippenham election, on the 28th, Sir Robert was pressed by his family and many of his friends to retire; he was undetermined

1742.

Chippenham
return.
Feb. 2.

1742. till the evening of Sunday the 31st, when he consented to give up the battle.* His retreat was conducted with the skill and judgement of an able and experienced commander.

Negotiations. For although he had lost the vigour and good fortune which usually attend upon youth, he was not abandoned by the sagacity which is the proper acquirement of age. As soon as he had made up his mind to resign, he took advantage of the treachery of his friends, and the discordant materials of the opposition, to break his fall, and, in some measure, to direct the composition of the ministry, over which he was no longer to preside. Out of care for his country, he desired that the government should be conducted by a whig ministry; out of concern for himself, he sought to blunt the animosity which the opposition leaders entertained personally against him. In order to accomplish these objects, he first threw out lures to the Tories, so as to raise in them the highest expectations; he then, by means of his colleagues, opened a negotiation with Pulteney. When this negotiation began, we are not informed: the first intimation we have of it is a message from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pulteney proposing to meet him privately at the house of his secretary, Mr. Stone. Pulteney declined a private meeting, but offered to receive the duke at his own house. Newcastle went, accompanied by Lord Hardwicke; he found Pulteney with Lord Carteret by his side. Newcastle commenced the conference by stating, that the king, being convinced Sir R. Walpole was no longer supported by a majority in the House of

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvii. p. 29.

Commons, had commanded them to offer the places that minister possessed to Mr. Pulteney, on condition only that the ex-minister should not be prosecuted. Pulteney replied, that he could not make such a condition; that whatever his own inclination might be, he could not answer for his friends; that parties, like snakes, moved by their tails; that he would be no screen; but that if the king desired to open any treaty with him, he would go publicly to St. James's. Before they parted, some negus was brought in, and Newcastle drank "To our happier meeting." Pulteney replied,

1742.

"If we do meet again, why we shall smile;
If not, why then this meeting was well made."

A report of this conference, which was held without any concealment, soon reached the public, and great blame was attached to Pulteney and Carteret for beginning to treat without consulting the great body of the opposition. The *boy patriots*, as Walpole used to call them, namely, Pitt, the Grenvilles, and Lyttleton, secretly offered, through Colonel Selwyn, to secure the minister from prosecution, and answered for the concurrence of the prince; but Walpole coolly declined the proposal.*

In the meanwhile, the prospect of the sun shining over a new hemisphere, hatched a swarm of embryo projects and theories of amendment. Some called for triennial parliaments, others for annual; some for a pension bill, some for a reduction of the civil list. One set of people were for taking away the disposal of all employments from

Projects
afloat.

* Coxe's Walpole.

1742. the crown; another for making them incompatible with a seat in parliament. Here a knot of politicians were for rendering the officers of the army independent of the crown; there a more popular improver was for doing away with regular troops altogether. Many called out for bringing Walpole to justice; and all, except his immediate supporters, seemed to think that his removal would lead to an increase of the liberties, security, and prosperity of the people.

The variety of these projects, many of them totally inconsistent with the constitution, alarmed the whig principles of Pulteney, and made him the more anxious to act what he deemed, perhaps, the glorious and disinterested part of mediator between king and people. Walpole, on the other hand, was eager to secure the chief power in the future ministry to one whose enmity he did not fear. By his advice, it appears, the king sent a private message to Pulteney, requesting, that if he did not choose to place himself at the head of the treasury, he would let Lord Wilmington (Sir Spencer Compton) slide into that post. Carteret, who desired the place for himself, objected to this arrangement; but Pulteney having obliged him to consent, Walpole was fully satisfied. His great object had been to lure Pulteney to the palace without his party; and when the king, conquering his aversion, allowed this to be done, he said to his son Horace, making a motion with his hand, as if locking a door, "I have turned the key of the closet upon him!"*

Another conference completed the principal arrange-

* Reminiscences.

ments. Newcastle said he was now commissioned by the king to make the former offer, without insisting on the condition of not prosecuting the minister; but that the king hoped Mr. Pulteney and his friends would be satisfied with the removal of Sir Robert Walpole and a few others. Pulteney replied, that he was not a man of blood; that when he had said he was resolved to pursue the minister to destruction, he meant only the destruction of his power, not of his person: he only required that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed; that the main forts of government should be delivered into the hands of his party; a majority in the cabinet council, the nomination of a secretary of state for Scotland, and of the boards of treasury and admiralty. These points being agreed to, Newcastle, on the part of the king, offered Pulteney the office of first lord of the treasury. "As the disposition of places is in my hands," replied Pulteney, "I will accept none; I have repeatedly declared my resolution on that head, and I will not now contradict myself." He then named the Earl of Wilmington first lord of the treasury; Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer; Carteret, secretary of state; Sir John Rushout, Gybbon, and Waller, lords of the treasury; a new board of admiralty, including Sir John Hynde Cotton; and the Marquess of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland. For himself, he demanded only a peerage, and a seat in the cabinet.

1742.

Arrangement
of a new
ministry.

On the 2d of February (the day of the final division), the Prince of Wales was informed of what was going on, and received the intimation with respect. On the same day, Sir Robert Walpole wrote to the Duke of Devonshire,

1742. who was then in Ireland, telling him, that the panic was so great among what he should call his own friends, that they all declared his retirement absolutely necessary; that he was to go up to the House of Peers by the title of Earl of Orford, and Lord Wilmington to be put at the head of the treasury; that, if he had not prevented it, Newcastle would have been removed from his post of secretary of state, to make room for Lord Carteret. "But I am of opinion the whig party must be kept together, which may be done with this parliament, if a whig administration be formed." In his anxiety for this object, he seems to have shewn an entire absence of revengeful feelings. Any party to which he opened the closet would probably have offered him personal indemnity; the whig party alone would secure the Hanover succession.

Walpole
made Earl
of Orford,
Feb. 29.

The arrangements, at least the principal of them, being completed, Walpole, on the 9th of February, was made Earl of Orford, and on the 11th resigned his offices. The king, when he kissed his hand to take leave, shewing a just and grateful sense of the services he had received from this faithful minister, fell on his neck and wept, kissed him, and begged to see him frequently. Signs of regard, not so strong, but equally unaffected, were shewn by others. Many of his friends, among whom Lord Hartington and Lord Fitzwilliam were most conspicuous, were constantly at his house, offering him any service in their power. The day of his last levee, the rooms were three times filled to overflowing. Allusions in the theatre to the fall of an ambitious minister, with a view to excite odium against him, were coldly received by the public.

The States-General sent him a message, expressing their regret at his being out of the ministry, which would be so detrimental to Europe.* 1742.

Thus ended the power of Sir Robert Walpole. If it be at all times the duty of an historian to represent faithfully the prominent characters on the stage of the world, it is so more peculiarly with regard to one who was assailed when living, and reviled when dead, with no ordinary measure of injustice. Some of this hostility is to be attributed to the envy of his rivals in the same career, but by far the greater part to the active hatred of the tory party, who could not see with patience a German prince upon the throne and a whig minister by his side. Now that the dust and smoke of the conflict have passed away, and we can view him through a clearer atmosphere, it will hardly be denied that Walpole raised himself to the singular height he attained by his political and parliamentary talents; that his knowledge of finance, seldom if ever equalled, has never been surpassed; that he took the direction of public credit in a time of embarrassment, if not despair, and raised it to an unexampled pitch; that he conducted the state in a time of civil rage, without any instance of cruelty, and but one of injustice. That, in fine, he merits the character given of him by Burke: "The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to this royal family; and with it their laws and liberties to

Character of
Walpole.

* Lord Orford.

1742. this country." It is difficult for a statesman to merit a higher eulogy.

"But, in his too great eagerness for peace, he sacrificed the honour and interest of England to France." With relation to this charge it may be said, that if he was disposed to resist, and did often successfully resist, the proneness of the nation to war, posterity have reaped the harvest of that forbearance. It seems to have been his opinion, that after the fame we had acquired as a military power by the campaigns of Marlborough, we could afford to live for some years upon the fund of our glory without more shedding of the nation's blood. At the same time he frequently shewed, by fitting out fleets and preparing troops, that the country was ready, when occasion called, to defend her honour or interests. He was reproached, indeed, for these armaments as much as for his patient endurance of insults; but he himself gave a complete answer to this charge, by saying, on the motion of Sandys, "that if, by saving the sums thus expended, we had exposed the balance of power to danger or ourselves to attack, it would have cost perhaps a hundred times those sums to master the danger or repel the attack." He has been blamed more especially for having, in the war of 1733, allowed France to acquire Lorraine, and the House of Austria to lose Naples and Sicily, without interference. He did interfere, however, as far as he could do so without actual war; had he gone further, he scarcely could have saved Lorraine; although he might have, perhaps, preserved to a prince of the House of Austria, Naples and Sicily, instead of Tuscany and Parma. But

that, for such an object, the blood and treasure of England ought to have been expended, her debt increased, and her commerce exposed to hazard, is what a wise man will hesitate to admit. Nor, be it remembered, while he avoided war, did he neglect to keep up at all times a navy superior to that of France, which, during the whole of his ministry, was in a state of decline. It was this readiness of naval preparation which enabled him in 1735, upon the prospect of a war between Spain and Portugal, to send a fleet of nineteen sail of the line to Lisbon to protect our ancient ally. It must be recollected, lastly, that all his pacific measures were adopted in the belief that, in case of war with France, the English crown would be fought for on English ground, and with that crown the civil and religious freedom of his country. The distinguishing feature of his policy, therefore, was not love of peace, but love of legal liberty as established at the Revolution: freedom at home was his object, peace abroad his means.

When it is said, that during the period of his ministry he reduced the debt by no more than 5,000,000*l.*, it must be observed that he made this diminution at the same time that he defrayed the expense of frequent armaments; that in 1727, in 1733, and 1734, he put the nation on a footing of war. It is unfair, therefore, to represent this as a period of unbroken peace. Besides, while the capital was so little diminished, the interest, the real burden of the nation, was reduced from 3,118,000*l.*, at which it stood in March 1716, to 1,964,000*l.*, its amount in December 1739. Of this diminution of interest, it is true, 339,000*l.* is to be

1742. attributed to the South Sea scheme.* But passing by the whole, it will be difficult to find another twenty years as a parallel to the years from 1719 to 1739, in which peace was fully maintained, and the public debt not increased.

“ But he secured the support of parliament by a shameless and unblushing corruption.” Some very brilliant invective, and much eloquent declamation, proceeding either from personal enemies, or credulous and ambitious, though sincere patriots, are the chief data upon which the opinion of Walpole’s governing by corruption is made to rest. Stories are told, indeed, which bear the title of anecdotes, but are so totally unlike the real transactions of the world, that they are evidently derived from the lowest sources of information. Men who might be entitled to rank higher as authority, discredit themselves as witnesses by their conduct. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Chesterfield, upon seceding from Sir Robert Walpole’s government, it is true, complained loudly of corruption. If such was its character, we may ask why they adhered to it so long? The report of the secret committee appointed to inquire into Walpole’s administration proved, indeed, that near 80,000*l.* had been annually expended on secret service; but they did not make out, although they endeavoured to do it, that this sum was greater than that which had been applied to the same objects at various periods since, and even before, the Revolution.†

That some of this money was applied to the corruption

* Sinclair’s Hist. of the Revenue, vol. i.

† Coxe’s Walpole. Parliamentary History.

of parliament, cannot, indeed, be either disproved or disbelieved. That the votes of the House of Commons are often influenced by employments and pensions held or hoped for, promised or refused, was true in the age of Charles the Second, in that of Walpole, and may be now. The form of corruption, indeed, has changed, but its spirit is unaltered. In the earliest of these periods, a small gratuity sufficed; in the next, a large pension was required; the more fastidious vice of our own days spurns at money, and accepts patronage. The quantity and kind of corruption depend, perhaps, fully as much on the corrupted as the corrupter, or, in other words, on the average virtue of the age: Walpole himself said, that ministers were as often tempted as tempters. But when we speak of general corruption, it is fit to ask, first, whether Walpole had the means in his hands to bribe a majority; secondly, whether his measures were such as to require corruption to account for their being carried. The only money of which he had the control was the secret service money, which, be it remarked, must have been in great measure expended abroad in procuring intelligence. The army and navy were never very large, and the ordinary expense of the whole establishments was not more than 2,500,000*l.* a-year.

1742.

With respect to his measures, can it be said that they needed bribery for their support? Walpole was the chief of the larger division of the whig party, which comprised, if not a majority of the nation, yet the greater part of the higher aristocracy, the trading interest, and almost all those whose talents for public business fitted them to conduct the affairs of the nation. He was confessedly a great master of finance; an able

1742. debater, endowed with all the qualities of a leader, to whichever party he had happened to belong. Yet with all these advantages, and the train which a long possession of power secured to him, he seldom ventured on any measure either hazardous or unpopular; and on two occasions, viz. the excise bill and the Spanish war, he was overruled and turned from his course by the House of Commons. Was it that his measures were on these occasions, as they were represented at the time, the one destructive of the liberties, the other of the honour of the nation? Let us take the testimony of some who appeared among his adversaries in parliament upon these very measures. With regard to the excise bill, Lord Chatham said in the House of Commons, many years afterwards: "The more I reflect on my conduct, the more I blame myself for opposing the excise bill:" and upon several members laughing, he concluded: "Let those who are ashamed to confess their errors laugh out. Can it be deemed adulation to praise a minister who is no more?" The house was abashed and silent. With regard to the clamour on the Spanish war, Mr. Burke says: "Some years after, it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct, which they as freely condemned as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned."* On the question of the allowance to the prince, too, where he was

* Thoughts on a Regicide Peace.

obviously right, he was nearly defeated. Hence we may conclude, not only that Walpole had not influence sufficient to carry any measure he pleased, but that even justice and reason could not secure him a due preponderance. He was the leader, not the master, of the House of Commons: 1742.

— rectorque senatûs
Sed regnantis erat.

No doubt, many asked him for favours, many were influenced by the promises or refusals they met with; but all the adherents thus acquired would have left him but a miserable minority, had he not sustained himself by the prudence and steadiness of his measures, the large capacity of his mind, and his hearty attachment to the best interests of his country.

A more just charge upon him is, that he bore the imputation of corruption with too much insensibility, and by his retorts encouraged the willing belief of the multitude that all politicians are dishonest. Whether he said "all men have their price," or "all those men have their price," pointing to his adversaries, he assuredly left it to be believed, that if his enemies consisted of ungratified solicitors, his friends were the gratified. Nay, to a gentleman, who told him that in Holland a question was left to its own merits, he remarked, that if he were to do so, half the shops in London would be shut up the next day; thus implying that corruption was necessary to the maintenance of the House of Hanover.* By this manner

* Walpoliana.

1742. of speaking he contributed to lower the tone of public life, and taught men of hesitating virtue not to shrink from a contamination shared by the great majority of their contemporaries. In point of fact, it may be doubted whether his government was either more or less corrupt than those of the half century which either preceded or followed him.

There is one more article to be placed to the credit of Walpole, which shall be rested on the testimony of Lord Chatham. His sovereigns were Germans, and might have German predilections: "Lord Townshend and Sir R. Walpole," said Mr. Pitt, "withstood Hanover. The latter was a truly English minister, and kept a strict hand on the closet; as soon as he was removed, the door was flung open."*

Walpole's manner of speaking was plain, direct, and forcible; he never evaded an attack by misrepresenting it, nor concealed an error in reasoning amid a glare of declamation. Pursued by rancorous hostility, he shewed no bitterness of disposition, and bore with calumny as a natural infirmity of power. In private life he was warmly loved by his friends, and excited a good-will among his acquaintance, which even political animosity could not wholly destroy. Those who had seen him "in his happier hour" remembered with pleasure the openness of his manners, the playfulness of his conversation, and the kindness which bespoke a heart in charity with mankind. Sir Charles Hanbury bears testimony to the heartiness of his laugh:

"Great Orford's self I've seen, while I have read,
Laugh the heart's laugh, and nod the approving head."

* Orford's Memoirs, i. 476.

1742.

His son said to Mr. Coxe, "It would have done you good to hear him laugh." A good laugh may be a corrupt man, but is seldom a very malignant one. Indeed, the placability of Walpole's temper was such, that Pulteney said, he believed he never remembered an invective against him for half an hour. He was not equally distinguished for refinement. He had the weakness to think himself gifted with a happy turn for gallantry, in which he shone less than most men; and his conversation, when meant to be sprightly, was often coarse and licentious. He shewed, however, considerable taste for the fine arts at Houghton, where he built a magnificent house. The noble style of architecture, the bronze statues, the collection of pictures, the rich and splendid hall, the mahogany doors and casements, all denote that Walpole possessed that love of the magnificent and the beautiful which distinguished the orators of Rome. The expense of Houghton must have been enormous; and it was one of the main subjects of reproach against its founder, that a private gentleman, with an estate of 4000*l.* a-year, should have raised so costly a structure. The answer given by his advocates is, that he made a large sum by the South Sea stock; and they might add, that he received two gifts, of 10,000*l.* each, from George the First: but until the building accounts of Houghton are produced, it will always be suspected that he dipped his hand in the public purse.*

* Lord Leicester, who built Holkham at the same time that Walpole built Houghton, used to shew Sir Robert his accounts, but Sir Robert would never shew his in return.

1742,

His style of living at Houghton was that of profuse hospitality; he had always two parties in the year: in the spring he assembled his chief political friends; in the autumn, during two months, he received all his acquaintance and neighbours who chose to come, and kept up what Lord Townshend, with some spleen, called the bacchanalian orgies of Houghton. Prodigality, however, is a more popular vice than avarice. It is fair to say, that he spent 14,000*l.* in the lodge in Richmond Park, which belongs to the crown; and that when the king offered to give him the house in Downing Street, which had been inhabited by Bothmar, he declined it for himself, but accepted it as attached to the office which he held. On the other hand, he gave very lucrative offices to his sons. At the end of his administration, his eldest son, Lord Walpole, received more than 12,000*l.*, and his youngest son, Horace, about 3000*l.* a-year, from the public.

Sir Robert was methodical in his manner of doing business, and, according to the remark of Lord Chesterfield, did it so easily that he never appeared in a hurry. He slept well, and, as he said himself, "put off his cares with his clothes." He was fond of country sports, and when in town, opened directly the letters of his gamekeeper, while he put by others to a more convenient time. He used to hunt with beagles in Richmond Park.

Upon his retirement he went immediately to Houghton. But, accustomed all his life to political excitement, having never been fond of reading, and much of his old company failing, his time must have hung heavy upon his hands. It is recorded, that his son having one day proposed to

read to him, and taking down a book of history, he exclaimed, "Oh! don't read history; that, I know, must be false:"—the judgement of a man better acquainted with pamphleteers than with historians.

1742.

Yet Lord Orford, after his retirement, was not, as is too often the case, neglected by the master to whom he had rendered such essential services. George the Second often consulted him, and sometimes sent his confidential page to receive his advice. It was in consequence of one of these secret communications that, upon the death of Lord Wilmington, Pelham was appointed to the head of the treasury instead of the Earl of Bath, who, too late, had seen his error in refusing office upon Walpole's resignation. Lord Orford's death was accelerated, if not actually caused, by a journey from Houghton to London, in obedience to a summons from the king. He was at the time in excruciating pain from the stone; and the medicines which he took, with a view to dissolve it, aggravated both his pain and his danger. To the last, however, he bore his sufferings with fortitude; and his intellect, when he was not in a state of lethargy, retained its former clearness. A few days before he died, the Duke of Cumberland sent to consult him how he could best avoid a marriage proposed for him by the king with a deformed princess of Denmark. "Tell him," said Lord Orford, "to give his consent on condition of receiving immediately an ample establishment." Orford expired on the 18th of March, 1745, and was buried at Houghton without monument or inscription. He left an estate deeply mortgaged, and debts, which, with some trifling legacies, amounted to 50,000*l*.

His death.

1742.
Settlement
of parties.

Let us now return, for a short time, to the ill-united body of politicians who had driven Walpole from the citadel. As soon as it was known that the places were filled, great discontent was expressed by the unsatisfied candidates for power. At their desire, a general meeting of the late opposition took place at the Fountain Tavern, which was attended by not fewer than 300 members of both houses. Argyll opened the business in a speech of some length, advised his friends to persevere till the administration was founded upon the broad bottom of both parties, and, in allusion to Pulteney, observed with a sneer, that a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold. Pulteney replied with calmness and plausibility. The meeting separated without any agreement.

With a view to bring the parties to a better understanding, the Prince of Wales assembled the chief leaders of opposition in his own presence. The consequence of this meeting was, that the leaders for a time appeared satisfied; and on the 18th, the whole party, or rather the two parties of the whig and tory opposition, appeared at court. But this calm lasted only a few days. When all the places were filled, and it was found that there was only one Tory at the board of treasury, that Sir John Hynde Cotton was not made a lord of the admiralty, and that Pitt and Lyttleton were not included in any of the arrangements, the whole body of the Tories and a great number of the Whigs, with the Prince of Wales and his household, went into opposition.

The complete exclusion of the Tories seems to have been against the desire of Pulteney. He earnestly wished to obtain an office for Sir John Hynde Cotton. He told

the king, that, in his opinion, the trunk of the tree should be formed of Whigs; but that the Tories might be engrafted upon it. "The Tories," he added, "are not masters of calculation, or proficient in the knowledge of languages, and therefore cannot, and do not, expect the first situations under government; but by giving to some of the most considerable, places at court, by making others lords-lieutenants of counties, and a few similar marks of royal favour, your majesty may abolish all distinctions of party, and the remainder of your reign will be peaceable and glorious." The king replied, "that might be; but he was determined to stand by those who set him and his family on the throne." He therefore steadily refused his consent to the appointment of Sir J. Hynde Cotton; and Pulteney, from this time, lost the greater part of his influence, whether with the king, the new ministry, his party, or the country.

1742.

It was to be expected, that some vigorous attempts would be made to justify the invectives of the late opposition. A motion of Lord Limerick, for a secret committee to inquire into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole during the last twenty years, was negatived by a majority of two; 244 against 242. Pulteney being accused of screening the ex-minister, persuaded Lord Limerick to renew the motion, only confining it to ten years instead of twenty; and by dint of his and Mr. Pitt's eloquence, the motion was carried, in a very full house, by a majority of seven. The members of the committee were all enemies of Walpole, except two; and of these two he sagaciously said, "they will become so zealous

1742.

for the honour of the committee, that they will not pay sufficient regard to mine." Paxton, solicitor to the treasury, being examined with regard to the sum of 95,000*l.* which had passed through his hands, refused to answer a question, and was sent to Newgate. Scrope, an old secretary of the treasury, who had begun life by taking part in Monmouth's rebellion, being examined with regard to 1,052,000*l.* which he had disbursed, answered, that as the money had been issued for secret service, he could not, as an honest man, and with a safe conscience, take the oath of discovery. He added, that he was fourscore years of age, and did not care whether he spent the few months he had to live in the Tower or elsewhere. Mr. Edgecumbe, who had managed the Cornish boroughs under Walpole's administration, being at this time made a peer, for the purpose, it was supposed, of screening him from examination, Sir Hynde Cotton remarked, "Between Newgate and the House of Lords, the Commons will not get any information."

The committee, much perplexed, made a report, containing only vague allegations, and moved the house for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify such persons as should make discoveries touching the disposition of offices, or other matters belonging to the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford. This bill was carried through the House of Commons by a majority of only twelve, in a house of 444 members. In the House of Peers, the polite and well-bred Chesterfield maintained, that such an indemnity was not a new thing in our constitution, as rewards were daily offered to highwaymen and murderers for the discovery of their

1742.

accomplices. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke spoke a very different language. "This bill," he said, "is calculated to make a defence impossible; to deprive innocence of its guard; to let loose oppression and perjury upon the world: it is a bill to dazzle the wicked with a prospect of security, and to incite them to purchase an indemnity for one crime by the perpetration of another." The bill was rejected in a house of 166 members, by a majority of fifty-two. A motion made in the Commons, "that this rejection was an obstruction to justice," was likewise negatived by a majority of fifty-two, the new ministers taking part against the resolution.

The day on which parliament was prorogued, Pulteney was called to the House of Peers by the title of Earl of Bath.* As for the public expectations from a change of ministry, they were totally disappointed. The Place Bill, and the bill for restoring triennial parliaments, were thrown

* The decline of his influence is thus celebrated by Sir C. Hanbury:

"Great Earl of Bath, your reign is o'er,
The Tories trust your word no more,
The Whigs no longer fear ye;
Your gates are seldom now unbarred,
No crowds of coaches fill your yard,
And scarce a soul comes near ye.

* * * * *

Expect to see that tribe no more,
Since all mankind perceive that power
Is lodged in other hands.
Sooner to Carteret now they'll go,
Or ev'n (though that's excessive low)
To Wilmington and Sands."

1742.

out. Lord Carteret, who succeeded to the largest share in the king's favour, carried on the war, it is true, with far greater vigour than Walpole; but the hopes with which the people had been cheered, of seeing the system of government changed, and corruption for ever expelled, were utterly at an end.

The general condition of the people during the administration of Walpole, was undoubtedly good. The average price of wheat was from 34s. to 35s. a quarter.* Malt was about 3s. a bushel. The wages of agricultural labour in 1732, when provisions were more than usually cheap, were 6s. in winter, and 7s. in summer.† A sure though slow progress was made in commercial and manufacturing prosperity; in the meanwhile, the great foundations of wealth, the general security of person and property, the freedom of the seas, and the absence of oppressive restrictions upon industry, prepared the soil for that rich harvest of wealth which has since made England the admiration of Europe.

Having thus related at length the administration of this remarkable man, we may defer the further domestic history of England to another occasion.

* Statistical Tables.

† Gentleman's Magazine.

CHAPTER II.

State of Religion in England during the first Half of the Eighteenth Century — Infidel Writers — Distinguished Prelates — School of Clarke and Hoadly — Warburton — Wesley.

WHATEVER may be thought of the propriety of blending some notice of the state of religion and literature with the narrative of civil and military transactions, to which the term history has, till of late, been almost exclusively applied, the eighteenth century is so much an age of opinions, that no one would be able to form an adequate notion of the causes of that great revolution which shook the continent of Europe towards the end of that century, without studying the doctrines and literary taste prevalent during its course. It was a time when the minds of men were more occupied with books than with arms: Pope, Addison, Voltaire, and Rousseau, enjoyed more fame than Marshal Saxe or Marshal Daun; nay, had more influence on the future than the great Frederic himself. In the present and the following chapter, therefore, we propose to treat of the state of religion and literature in England. In a future Book, we shall give the same history with respect to France. Our sketches will, of necessity, be slight; but they may convey some idea, not only of the opinions, but of the manners of two countries, which, the one by its

freedom, the other by its superior refinement, gave the law to Europe.

The church of England, from the period of the reformation, has preserved a peculiar character. The leaders of the reform, falling in with the national temper, loth to destroy what may be corrected, and averse to inquire into abstract truth when practical utility has been provided for, left subsisting much of the Romish worship, and neglected some of the favourite dogmas of the chief reformers. Large possessions were left in the hands of the clergy, and a titular supremacy over the church was transferred from the pope to the king. Hence the deep erudition and dignified bearing of the English prelacy; hence the absence of that low fanaticism which disgraced some of the reformed churches; hence that decency of public worship which rejected, on the one hand, all unintelligible ceremony, and on the other, all excess of devotional enthusiasm. But, with these qualities, the church of England, as an institution, had serious defects. The clergy, educated with the aristocracy, depending on the king and the aristocracy, had too little sympathy with the people, and too much of political connexion with the governing powers of the state. In the age of which we are treating, however, the majority of the inferior clergy, whether they still hankered after the abominations of the Stuarts, or desired only a high church administration, were opposed to the crown, a position which, as Mr. Hume has observed, was forced and unnatural. The government, unable to gain the majority, had yet the power to dispose of the chief seats of the church, and they used it to advance to those high places

men of liberal opinions, attached to the Protestant succession, of extensive learning, but free from the narrowness either of pedantry or of their profession. Such men, who, at a different period, might have been left unnoticed by the crown, fell in with the spirit of the times, and, without altering, modified the character of the church. Engaging but little in controversy with their old enemies, the Roman Catholics and the Puritans, they endeavoured not so much to prove that their faith was scriptural, as that Scripture was rational. Infidel writings, the calm temper of the age, and the theological turn of Queen Caroline, contributed to this change. The truth and fitness of religion, the beauty of virtue, the advantages of a good and upright life, charity and toleration for all mankind, were the subjects on which the chosen prelates loved to dwell. The scoffers at Christianity were defeated by their mildness of tone; the learned were satisfied with the freedom in which they were indulged; but the people at large, too much neglected, fell into the apathy of cold acquiescence. Such are the outlines of the sketch we are about to draw.

In the beginning of this period, Christianity itself was seriously menaced. The general liberty established at the revolution, and the progress of speculative inquiry, produced, in the natural course of the seasons, a succession of deistical writers, who lasted from the end of the reign of William to the middle of that of George the Second. Some shoots of the same tree have since appeared; but the root itself was, about that time, transplanted to France, a soil better fitted for its growth. One of the first English writers of note, in this series, is Lord Shaftesbury, whose

Deistical
writers.

- endeavour to substitute a moral scheme of his own for the Christian system, belongs, however, more properly to the preceding age. Mr. Toland more directly attacked the canon of the New Testament: he likewise published a tract called "Christianity not Mysterious." Mr. Anthony Collins, in a "Discourse on Free-Thinking," endeavoured to shew that the text of the Holy Scriptures had been corrupted. In another "Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," he attempted to prove that the prophecies of the Old Testament ought to be understood literally, and not as types or allegories. Mr. Woolston, a labourer in the same work of destruction, tried, on the other hand, to persuade the world that the miracles of Christ ought to be understood allegorically, and not literally: his language is stained by buffoonery. A more methodical and more formidable writer was Dr. Tindal, who, in a work called "Christianity as old as the Creation," maintained the law of nature to be so absolutely perfect in itself, and so clearly imparted to mankind, that God could not make his will more fully known, even should he miraculously convey the same ideas to all men. A Dr. Morgan, and several anonymous writers, appeared as champions in a like enterprise. In a work like ours, the particular nature of their arguments may be neglected: let those who love the thorny paths of controversy seek them in the direction where they are to be found. To minds which have reposed in the implicit confidence of faith, it cannot be wise to open a view of sceptical arguments, which, even if fairly overcome, often rise again to the attack, and surprise the understanding, when, perhaps,
- 1696-8.
- 1713.
- 1724.
- 1730.

the guard by which it was before defended is absent or sleeping.

The members of the church of England were not slow to appear in the lists against the enemies of Christianity. Mr. Toland was answered by Samuel Clarke, by Bishop Chandler, by Mr. Jones, and especially by Dr. Sherlock, who published, on this occasion, "The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the Church." Mr. Woolston was repelled by Gibson, bishop of London, Dr. Pearce, Dr. Smallbrook, and by the same Dr. Sherlock, in the admirable tract called "The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus." Dr. Tindal had not long entered the field of controversy before he was met by Bishop Gibson, Dr. Thomas Burnet, Dr. Stebbing, Mr. Law, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Balguy, (who defended Clarke,) and especially by Dr. Forster, and Dr. Conybeare, bishop of Bristol. The list of the writers in this controversy contains the names of Waterland, Bentley, Hoadly, Lardner, Sykes, &c.; in short, of nearly all the men of whose learning, talents, and piety, the church had reason to be proud, together with the most able of the dissenters.* 1729.

The manner in which this dispute was conducted was highly honourable to the church of England. They called for no new laws; they were not solicitous to invoke the protection of the civil magistrate. Woolston alone fell under the cognizance of a court of justice. The first time he was only menaced with prosecution. Lord Townshend, as secretary of state, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, hoping this would suffice, removed the

* See Leland's Deistical Writers.

suspended sword: but on his repeating his offence, the public called aloud for punishment; and Woolston being tried before Chief Justice Raymond, at Guildhall, was sentenced to a year's confinement, and to pay a fine of 100*l*. It was on this occasion declared, that Christianity is part of the law of England, and that a scurrilous mockery of its doctrines is a misdemeanour punishable by the common law. Yet, even then, Clarke interfered to deliver Woolston from prison, not, he said, as an approver of his opinions, but as an advocate of the liberty he had always asked for himself. Woolston refused to give any promise for the future, and the sale of his works was improved by the fame of prosecution. The deistical writers, therefore, had little to fear; and if they spoke under the mask of a desire to restore the purity, and not to destroy the foundations, of the Christian religion, this disguise seems to have been assumed rather with a view of gaining the good-will of the reader, than of averting the vengeance of the state. The truth of revelation was denied openly and totally; quotations sifted; inconsistencies pointed out; articles of faith examined by the rule of reason; the records of history turned over by the finger of research. The result was, that the Christian divines triumphed, and the religion attacked was more strongly fortified than ever. Tindal and Collins are never read; Clarke and Sherlock are generally admired; and if some other of the Christian combatants are neglected, it is only because their adversaries have fallen, and the war has ceased.

The government of the church, during the period of which we have to speak, was, generally speaking, confided to prelates distinguished by learning, judgement, and

dignity. The archbishops of Canterbury were, successively, Wake, Potter, and Herring. Wake was the author of an Wake. "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England," written in answer to Bossuet's "Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith." During the reign of James the Second, Wake wrote powerfully against popery; in those of William and of Queen Anne, he defended the king's ecclesiastical supremacy against Atterbury. On the accession of George the First, he was made primate of all England, in the place of Tenison. Soon after, he wrote some letters to Dupin, the ecclesiastical historian of France, to persuade the Gallican church to throw off their obedience to the pope, for which he was afterwards much blamed. He died in 1737. He was a man of a pacific spirit; a learned theologian; liberal in his charities and expenses. Wake was succeeded by Potter, bishop of Oxford, who is chiefly Potter. known, at the present day, by his "Antiquities of Greece." He was a favourite with Queen Caroline; and on the accession of George the Second, was chosen to preach the coronation sermon. He filled the see of Canterbury for ten years with high reputation. He died rich.

The primacy was next offered to Sherlock, and on his Herring. refusal, was given to Herring, archbishop of York, who had distinguished himself by his loyal zeal during the rebellion of 1745. Archbishop Herring shewed himself, on all occasions, a friend of religious peace. The learned and amiable Dr. Law, some time bishop of Carlisle, held an opinion, that man of his own nature would remain in a state of death, and that the act of Jesus Christ, at his second coming, is necessary to the restoration of life and consciousness. On his defending, in a thesis at Cambridge,

what is called "the sleep of the soul," Archbishop Herring said to him, "I neither justify, nor condemn you. If your doctrine be right, I am no loser; if wrong, I am but as I was. I am in the hands of a just and merciful God, to whom I wholly commit myself: I believe his gospels, and am persuaded you do as much as I, though we may have different sentiments about some particulars. We shall both of us, I hope, meet in heaven."* Such was the spirit in which he treated every propounder of doubtful opinions on mysterious doctrines. He lived to the year 1759.

Sherlock.

A brief notice of some other distinguished prelates will suffice for this part of our review. Thomas Sherlock, son of Dr. Sherlock who wrote on Death, was born in London in the year 1678. His tracts, called "The Use and Intent of Prophecy," and "The Trial of the Witnesses," have been already mentioned. He wrote, when Dean of Chichester, a defence of the Corporation and Test Acts against Hoadly, and so well, that Hoadly entitled his answer, "An Answer to the most plausible and ingenious Defence that he thinks has ever yet been published, of excluding men from their acknowledged civil rights, upon the account of their differences in religion, or in the circumstances of religion." It has been asserted, upon anonymous authority, that Sherlock afterwards disapproved of this part of his writings, but the story is a very loose one.† In 1728 he became a bishop, and in 1747 was offered the see of Canterbury, but

* Nichols's Lit. Anec. vol. ii. p. 70.

† It appears in a note, written on a blank leaf, no one knows by whom, and sent to the Gentleman's Magazine by the finder. Sherlock is made to say of these tracts, "he was a young man when he wrote them," though he was not less than forty.—*Gent.'s Mag.* Aug. 1773. *Chalmers' Biogr. Dict.*

declined it on account of health. The year after, however, finding himself stronger, he accepted the bishopric of London. He died in 1761, in his eighty-fourth year. He was a good man and charitable, and yet found means to amass a considerable fortune. As a proof of his caution, it is mentioned that, in 1715, his sermons would have suited the pretender as well as the king, till the rebels were defeated at Preston, and then he came out with a most loyal and revolutionary discourse.* This put people in mind of his father, the author of the Discourse on Death, who refused to take the oaths to King William till he heard of the battle of the Boyne.

Pearce, born in the year 1690, was the son of a distiller in High Holborn. He was educated under Dr. Busby, at Westminster school, where he remained till the twentieth year of his age, when he was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge. His first attempt in literature was an edition of Cicero de Oratore, which he dedicated to Lord Parker, who gave him fifty guineas, and afterwards got his name inserted in the list of the chaplains of the king. He obtained through Lady Sundon the notice of Queen Caroline, and was by her recommended to Sir Robert Walpole for a deanery. Pulteney, who, in the height of his opposition, sat on the same bench with Walpole in the House of Commons, and even the very next to him, said to him one day, "Sir Robert, I have a favour to ask of you." "Oh, my good friend Pulteney, what favour can you have to ask of me?" "It is, that Dr. Pearce may not suffer in his preferment

Pearce.

* Gentleman's Magazine, Sept. 1773.

for being my friend." "I promise you that he shall not," said Sir Robert. He did not give Dr. Pearce the deanery of Wells, which Pulteney asked, indeed, but, six months afterwards, made him Dean of Winchester. In 1748, Dr. Pearce became bishop of Bangor, and, in 1756, bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster. In 1761, he declined an offer of Lord Bath to procure for him the bishopric of London, and, two years afterwards, obtained an audience of the king, for the purpose of asking leave to resign his bishopric and deanery: this he obtained, but was prevented executing his intention by some ministerial jealousies. He lived most abstemiously: being asked one day how he could exist upon so little food, he replied, "I live upon the recollection of an innocent and well-spent life." He died in 1774, in his eighty-fourth year. Besides editions of Cicero de Oratore and Longinus, he wrote against Woolston, and had a controversy with Dr. Middleton, whom he accused of "many falsehoods, both in the quotations and historical facts:" his principal work, however, was a "Commentary on the Four Evangelists," which is still read with instruction.*

Butler.

Joseph Butler, born in 1692, was the son of a shop-keeper at Wantage. His first education was at a dissenting academy at Shrewsbury; when there, he wrote remarks on Clarke's Demonstration, which his school-fellow Secker conveyed to the author. He was afterwards at Oxford; Sir Joseph Jekyll took him up, and Talbot, of Durham, gave him the living of Stanhope. We have seen elsewhere

* Life of Bishop Pearce, prefixed to the Commentary.

that he attracted the auspicious favour of Queen Caroline. When Bishop of Bristol, he spent 4000*l.* on the episcopal palace. His placing a marble inlaid cross in a chapel, gave rise to a calumny that he was a concealed papist, from which he was vindicated by Bishop Halifax, who wrote his life. He died in 1752. The "Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature," is a work too well known to require description here. It was admirably calculated for the age in which it appeared; nor has any author laboured more successfully to shew that religion, so far from superseding nature, is in complete harmony with its laws. Dr. Butler's anxiety to answer every objection has led him, however, into some obscurity; and had it not been for Queen Caroline, the book would hardly have been so popular as it is.

Of the sermons at the Rolls, two or three are written on the same subject, and are intended to prove, that, in acting virtuously, we act in conformity to our nature, and that, in acting viciously, we act contrary to our nature. This notion, taken from the ancient philosophers, is pushed by Butler to the extent of saying, that if any fair man, about to commit an action of any sort, were to ask himself, "Is this I am going about right or wrong?" he could not fail to answer the question agreeably to truth and virtue. Surely this is asserting too much. To this day our divines and moralists are arguing on right and wrong with a degree of labour which, if nature be so true a judge, seems a wasteful and ridiculous excess. Without, however, going the whole length of Bishop Butler's opinions, it is impossible not to admire these sermons as a

rare union of theology and philosophy. Those on the love of God, love of our neighbour, and the character of Balaam, are likewise admirable.

Chandler.

Edward Chandler, bishop, first of Lichfield and afterwards of Durham, was the son of Samuel Chandler, Esq. of Dublin. He distinguished himself in controversy, and wrote a very able "Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament." He died in the year 1750.

Hare.

Francis Hare was appointed by the Duke of Marlborough chaplain-general to the army, and acted as secretary to the duke. Towards the end of the reign of Queen Anne, he published an ironical tract, entitled, "The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the way of private judgement;" wherein he argued so boldly in favour of the right and duty of using all the helps of learning and criticism to understand the Scriptures, that the work was severely censured by the convocation. In 1727, Hare was made bishop of St. Asaph, and in 1731 translated to Chichester, where he remained till his death. He entered the lists with Bishop Hoadly, during the Bangorian controversy, on the subject of prayer: he likewise prepared editions of Terence and Phædrus, which were totally effaced by the more shining light of Dr. Bentley. He died at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, in 1740. He was grandfather of the late Mr. Hare, celebrated for his wit, and his intimate friendship for Mr. Fox.

While the temper of the most distinguished writers of the church was, in general, charitable, their tone of writing plain and perspicuous, their orthodoxy sound, but not in-

tolerant, there was bred up within the sanctuary of her temple a chosen number of priests, who pushed the doctrines of religious liberty as far as it is possible to go consistently with a church establishment, and founded, upon noble and elevated principles, a school of their own, which has survived in the breasts of some learned and pious men to the present day. At the same time it must be confessed, that their opinions were somewhat too large and indulgent to suit the temper of the body to which they belonged, and that the majority of the church have expressed their dislike of them in no equivocal manner. At the head of this illustrious school stand the celebrated names of Clarke and Hoadly.

Samuel Clarke was born in the city of Norwich on the 11th of October, 1675; he was the son of an alderman of that city, who was for several years its representative in parliament. An instance of his early turn for metaphysical inquiry used to be related by himself. Being asked by his parents, when very young, whether God could do every thing, he answered, "Yes." Being asked again whether God could tell a lie, he answered, "No." He thought the question implied that this was the only thing God could not do; and he well remembered that he had, even then, a clear conviction that there was one other thing which God could not do, viz. annihilate the space which was in the room where they were sitting.* After attending the free-school at Norwich, he was sent to Caius College, Cambridge. With the quickness of genius, he soon per-

Clarke.

* Whiston. Hist. Mem. pp. 14, 15.

ceived the truth of Sir Isaac Newton's system of the world; and as the book was then little known, and much decried by narrow-minded men, he translated Rohault's Physics, a work founded upon the principles of Des Cartes, of great reputation in the university, and added to it notes which might lead the students insensibly to the truth. By this means the philosophy of Newton obtained gradually, without noise or struggle, that superiority of which ignorance and prejudice endeavoured to deprive it. Turning his mind to divinity, he studied the Old Testament in Hebrew, writing on the margin many criticisms on the errors of the common translation. Having taken orders, he was introduced by Mr. Whiston to Dr. Moore, bishop of Norwich, then a great patron of learned men, and, on Mr. Whiston's resignation, was appointed his chaplain. He remained in this situation twelve years, treated with the utmost confidence, and intrusted, at the bishop's death, with the concerns of his family. During this time he published several able and learned works; "Three Practical Essays upon Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance," "Reflections on part of a book called Amyntor," being an answer to Mr. Toland; and a "Paraphrase of the Four Gospels," executed with great care and diligence.

In the year 1704, Mr. Clarke was appointed to preach Boyle's lecture: the subject he chose was a *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. The manner of this work was as near to mathematical proof as the nature of such a discourse would allow; with this view, the reasoning he adopted was of the kind called *à priori*, that is to say, from causes to effects, or from abstract ideas in our minds

to the beings or things they imply. For instance, he argues that our notions of infinity and eternity prove that there must be a being infinite and eternal. Some were displeased at seeing a question they thought otherwise so clear involved in a metaphysical labyrinth. Among others, his friend Mr. Whiston asked him how he could venture into such subtleties; and shewing a nettle in his garden, said, that weed contained better arguments for the being and attributes of God, than all his metaphysics. Clarke candidly confessed it was so; but urged, that since such philosophers as Hobbes had made use of subtleties *against*, he thought that the like way of reasoning might be better employed *for* the side of religion.

The success of Mr. Clarke in the Boyle lecture caused him to be appointed a second year, when he chose for his subject, the Evidences of Revealed Religion. In 1706, he published answers to Mr. Dodwell and Mr. Collins, on the Immortality of the Soul. The same year he translated Sir Isaac Newton's Optics into elegant Latin; which so pleased that great philosopher, that he gave 100*l.* to each of Mr. Clarke's five children. His patron, Bishop Moore, now brought him to court, where he was well received, and presented, in 1709, to the rectory of St. James's, Westminster. From this time he resided constantly in the rectory-house, except for a few weeks in the long vacation. Upon his advancement, he took the degree of doctor of divinity at Cambridge. Dr. James, the regius professor of divinity, a very learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual upon this occasion; Mr. Clarke, in reply, made an extempore discourse of near

half an hour, in which he took off the force of all the professor had said in such a manner, that the members of the university expressed their astonishment that a man, even of his abilities, should, after so many years, be so expert at this academical exercise, and express himself in such flowing and pure Latin.

This was the last time he signed the articles of the church. He had for some time entertained peculiar opinions on the doctrine of the Trinity, and had never read the Athanasian Creed in his parish near Norwich but once, and then it was by mistake. He now thought of publishing on the subject, an intention which alarmed Lord Godolphin and the whig ministers of Queen Anne. They sent him a message, importing "that the affairs of the public were with difficulty then kept in the hands of those that were for liberty; that it was an unseasonable time for the publication of a book that would make a great noise and disturbance: they, therefore, desired him to forbear till a fitter time should offer itself." Whiston says that Clarke paid no attention to this message: the fact is, however, that the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, &c." did not appear till 1712, long after "those that were for liberty" were out of office. The book occasioned, as was foreseen, a great noise; an active controversy commenced, and Dr. Clarke was the butt of every high-church theologian. Upon the meeting of the convocation, the lower house drew up a complaint against the work, which the bishops, though more favourably disposed to the author, received and promised to take into consideration. Extracts, containing the offensive passages, being presented

1714.
June 23.

by the lower house to the upper, Dr. Clarke framed a reply; but many of the bishops shewing a great wish to prevent divisions, he was persuaded to lay before them a paper, representing that his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal, incomprehensible power and will of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit was likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son; that he was willing to promise not to preach any more, and did not intend to write any more on the subject of the Trinity; that he was sorry that what he had sincerely intended for the honour and glory of God should have given offence; and that he hoped his behaviour, in time to come, would be such as to prevent any future complaints on this head. Three days after, being fearful that, if this paper should be published separately, his sentiments might be misunderstood, he presented an explanation to the Bishop of London, saying, that he did not mean to retract any thing he had asserted in his work, nor to preclude himself from making a defence against any misrepresentations that might be sent forth against him, on account of this controversy. After the delivery of this explanation, the upper house resolved to proceed no further upon the extracts laid before them. The lower house, on the contrary, resolved, that "the paper subscribed by Dr. Clarke did not contain in it any recantation of the heretical assertions and offensive passages complained of, nor give such satisfaction for the scandal occasioned thereby, as ought to put a stop to examination and censure." Here the matter ended. The only persons who behaved with

just regard to the peace of society and the honour of the church in this affair were the bishops. Dr. Clarke seems to have been urged to combat by the conceit of metaphysical acuteness; and the lower house of convocation by the virulence of theological hatred. The question of the Trinity is one upon which we endeavour in vain to improve the light given by the Scriptures. To conceive adequately the nature of God's eternal existence, and the mode of his operations, is beyond our narrow faculties. The veil which natural religion places before our eyes, revelation has not taken away. Questions with regard to the Deity arise upon the comparison of various texts, which men of the best talents, the most profound learning, and the purest intentions, interpret in very different ways: one of the most important of these texts is declared to be spurious by the best authorities. There cannot be a stronger proof that the full solution of such difficulties is not intended for our present stage of existence. A learned and pious writer has said, with equal ingenuity and truth, "We do not know enough of the mysterious doctrines of religion to quarrel about them. Were we to see two children fighting about their creeds, we should think them too ignorant to be champions of orthodoxy; but they seem almost as well qualified to be so, as we are to contend with violence about the eternal generation of Christ, when opposed to his creation before all worlds. It may be said, that though both these doctrines are mysterious, yet one may be nearer the truth than the other. If you are at the top of a steeple, and I at the bottom,

it is never worth our while to quarrel which is nearer to the sun."*

Archbishop Herring was so strongly impressed with the mischief of this controversy, that, in a letter to Mr. Duncombe, he thus spoke of an opposition raised to a clergyman for not reading the Athanasian Creed: "Your friend, Dr. Carter, is grievously teased by folks who call themselves the orthodox. I abhor every tendency to the Trinity controversy. The manner in which it is always managed is the disgrace and ruin of Christianity."† Another eminent divine has said, speaking of controversies, "Men cannot be content with that general information which God has seen fit to convey, and which alone is of real importance, but must needs determine or pretend to determine, what they evidently want faculties to comprehend; and when they have vainly spent their time and labour in unprofitable disquisitions, they require a blind assent from others to the decisions they make, which, right or wrong, are foreign to all the purposes of human life."‡ With such authorities in our favour, we may safely say that Clarke had better not have provoked a discussion on which he differed from the church in no very great degree; too little to be a sectary, too much to hope to pass for orthodox.

* Hey's Lectures on Divinity. This excellent work has been republished by Dr. Kaye, bishop of Lincoln, one of the living ornaments of our church.

† Letter from Archbishop Herring to W. Duncombe, Esq.; dated November 5, 1753.

‡ Balguy's Discourses, p. 176.

The remainder of Dr. Clarke's life was not spent in idleness. He defended the natural philosophy of Newton against Leibnitz, and maintained the cause of human liberty against the pre-established harmony of that celebrated philosopher. The notion of Leibnitz upon these subjects is a curious one. He imagines a person conducted by an angel to a place where there are a number of worlds in embryo. In many of these, circumstances are so arranged, that Brutus does not kill Tarquin; the servitude of Rome and the barbarity of the human race follow. In one he does kill Tarquin, whence flow the Roman greatness and the civilization of the world. The angel then points out to him that this is the best of all the worlds possible, and has, therefore, been chosen. Dr. Clarke's letters on this subject, though not so fanciful, are full of the soundest argument and the noblest sentiments. Sir Isaac Newton, at the end, told Clarke that "he had broke Leibnitz's head with his reply to him." It has before been mentioned that the controversy was published and dedicated to Queen Caroline.

Dr. Clarke, besides other labours, published several volumes of sermons; a defence of Newton with regard to the velocity and force of bodies in motion; a beautiful edition of Cæsar's Commentaries; and the first twelve books of Homer's Iliad, with new notes, and an almost entirely new Latin version. He did not live to finish more than fifteen books; but this edition, completed by his son, is still in this country the most generally used; although the more recondite work of Heyne threatens to supersede it.

The only preferment which Clarke obtained during this

time was the mastership of an hospital at Leicester, in the gift of the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton he was offered the place of master of the mint, but declined it, as entirely remote from his profession. Yet when Sir Robert Walpole, at the desire of Queen Caroline, offered him a bishopric, he likewise declined: one night, it is said, the minister made him stay till the candles were burnt out in the sockets, continually urging him to accept, but he as constantly refused. His reason probably was the repugnancy he now felt to some of the Articles. We are told by Dr. Sykes that "the doctor would often wish that those things which were suspected by many, and judged unlawful by some, might be seriously considered, and not made terms of communion. He thought it would be the greatest happiness to see the occasion of good and learned men's scruples removed out of the public forms of divine service, and the doctrines of Christianity reduced to the New Testament only; and that it would be right to have nothing required from the preachers of the Gospel, but what was purely primitive." A pious and excellent wish!

Dr. Clarke died on the 17th of May, 1729, in his 54th year, of an inflammation which began in his side and passed to his head. His character is thus drawn by Bishop Hoadly: "He was a person of a natural genius, excellent enough to have placed him in the superior rank of men, without the acquirements of learning; and of learning enough to have rendered a much less comprehensive genius very considerable in the world. The first strokes of knowledge,

in some of its branches, seemed little less than natural to him; for they appeared to lie right on his mind, and to be the very same which afterwards grew up with him into perfection. He had one happiness very rarely known among the greatest men, that his memory was almost equal to his judgement. If in any one of the many branches of knowledge he had excelled only so much as he did in all, this would have justly entitled him to the name of a great man. By Dr. Clarke's death, the world was deprived of as bright a light, and as masterly a teacher of truth and virtue, as ever yet appeared amongst us." Bishop Hare tells us, that "to all his piety and learning was added a temper happy beyond expression; an easy, modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour adorned all his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or ostentation, appears either in what he writes or says."* On the other hand, it is urged against him, that when he subscribed the Articles, upon being made a doctor, he already suspected some parts of them. Clarke himself said to Professor James, "he could promise nothing as to futurity; he could only answer to his present sentiments." We are bound to believe, therefore, that his doubts had not yet assumed a fixed shape. His conduct afterwards shews sufficiently, that when they had, he did not suffer himself to be swayed by interest; and as to his backwardness in asserting his opinions, either before the convocation, or in his subsequent writings, those who value the peace of religious

* See Lives of Clarke by Hoadly and Whiston.

society will be slow to blame him for wanting the zeal of a polemic, the obstinacy of a fanatic, and the rashness of a disturber.

The works of Dr. Clarke display the vigour of a powerful, and the resources of a full mind. As a specimen of his sermons on the Being and Attributes of God, the following passage combines, in few words, argument and eloquence: "Beyond all credulity is the credulousness of atheists, whose belief is so absurdly strong, as to believe that chance could make the world, when it cannot build a house; that chance should produce all plants, when it cannot paint one landscape; that chance should form all animals, when it cannot so much as make a lifeless watch!"*

The "Exposition of the Church Catechism," being the substance of lectures delivered on Thursdays, at St. James's church, and published after his death, contains the sum of his opinions. As such, and in consideration of the powerful mind which in an enlightened age rested in these conclusions, the reader will perhaps not be sorry to know the substance of the work.

In the early part of his book, Dr. Clarke discusses the meaning of that part of the catechism where the child acknowledges he is bound to believe. "For if believing does not, like our actions, depend upon the will, but men must necessarily believe what they have good evidence for, and cannot possibly believe what they see no reason to be convinced of, how can believing be a duty which

* Clarke's Sermons, vol. i. p. 20.

a man should, on any account, be bound to perform?" To this he answers, that the belief required of a Christian is not the bare assent of the understanding, but that disposition of mind which inclines a man to receive cheerfully whatever, upon due inquiry, he shall find to be the will of God. "Unbelief, considered as a fault, never signifies merely the disbelieving of any thing for want of sufficient proof; but always, rejecting carelessly and obstinately, without due examination and just reason, or upon the motives of passion or interest, in opposition to reason." Nor is it permitted to enforce the Christian faith by any external means: persecution on account of religion is to be esteemed among the works of the devil.* The great rule of faith is the Holy Scriptures: the learning and industry of the ministers of the church are to be employed in expounding them, but not so that any thing is to be taken upon trust on their authority.

On the first article of the Creed, our author says:—

"To believe in God, is to believe that there is a being eternal and infinite, perfect and self-sufficient, all-powerful and all-wise, just and righteous, holy, merciful, and good; a being whose duration no time can exhaust, from whose presence no swiftness can flee, whose power no force can resist, from whose knowledge no secret can be concealed, from whose justice no art can escape, by whose goodness all things are sustained: a being who is every where present, whose power causes and directs every thing, and whose kingdom ruleth over all. This is the God of Nature, and Nature herself

* Expos. page 23.

(of which ignorant men often speak as of a real being or agent) is nothing else but the universal and perpetual efficaciousness of his will and laws. The grounds upon which we believe in such a being are numberless; for, indeed, every thing proves the being of God:—the imperfection of all other things, and their absolute incapacity to be the cause or necessary reason of their own being; the natural conscience and universal apprehensions of all mankind; the strictest searches and inquiries of the learned, and the most obvious and unavoidable observations of the unlearned; the greatness, the variety, the motions, the beauty, the order and harmony of the world; the fitness of every thing to its proper end; the growth of plants, the sagacity of animals, the structure of the body, and the faculties and activity of the soul of man; whatever we observe in nature, in the heavens, and upon the earth, and whatever is supernatural, as miracles and prophecies; all these things conspire to prove to us that there is a God.”

“Further; ‘to believe in God’ signifies to believe in one God; for so the ancient Greek creeds always expressed it, ‘I believe in one God.’ This also is a fundamental truth of natural religion; and what natural religion teaches, revelation abundantly confirms. ‘*The Lord he is God; there is none else beside him.*’ ‘*To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.*’ ‘*One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.*’”

In telling his pupils to believe in Christ, Clarke resolves the atonement into the wisdom and good pleasure of God, who chose to vindicate the honour of his laws in this way rather than any other. He teaches that, the miracles worked by the Holy Ghost having ceased, “to obey the

Spirit now, is to obey his dictates as delivered down to us in the inspired writings: to be a good man is now the only evidence of being full of the Holy Ghost."

All virtuous and good men, all just, righteous, and religious persons, who, either under the light of nature, or under the Law, or under the Gospel, have sincerely endeavoured to obey the commandments of God, either from the beginning of their lives, or from the time of their repenting and forsaking their sins, he shall reward with glory unspeakable in the kingdom of heaven, which is life everlasting. We have reason to think that every person shall be treated according to his deserts. Some shall be beaten with few stripes, some with many. "*As one star differeth from another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead.*"

The proper object of prayer is the God and Father of all. His omnipresence teaches us that he is ever near; his omniscience, that he always knows our petitions; his omnipotence, that he is able to grant them; his goodness, that he is willing to give us whatever is for our real benefit and advantage. To pray to inferior beings is evidently needless, because God is always present. Of the saints, indeed, we cannot know before the day of judgement whether they be saints or no. Scripture tells us there is one God, and *one Mediator between God and men.*

Such was the religion of Dr. Clarke: it was made the subject of attack by some who thought themselves more orthodox, and perhaps were so; but it is the faith of a good and a wise man: his notion of God is suitable to

the infinite power and majesty of the Supreme Being; his view of human duties fitted to the weakness and ignorance of man.

Benjamin Hoadly was born at Westerham, in Kent, Hoadly. November 14, 1676. His grandfather had retired to New England in 1639, and had returned in 1653, dates which savour strongly of republicanism. His father kept a school at Westerham, and afterwards the chief school at Norwich. Benjamin went from his father's tuition to Catherine Hall, Cambridge: his first preferment in the church was the lectureship of St. Mildred, in the Poultry, which, as he himself averred, he preached down to 30*l.* a-year. He owed to Dr. Sherlock, then dean of St. Paul's, the rectory of St. Peter's Poor, in Broad Street. He now began to distinguish himself by his writings. A sermon preached before the lord mayor, and a pamphlet in its defence, entitled, "The Measure of Submission to the Civil Magistrate considered, &c." gave great offence to the high-church Tories. But if he excited the rage of one party, he obtained the sympathy of the other. In 1709, the House of Commons resolved, "That the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, for having often strenuously justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, hath justly merited the favour and recommendation of this house." They therefore determined on an address to the queen, to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly. She promised to do so, but never did. At this period, however, Mrs. Howland gave him the rectory of Streatham, and he was named

chaplain to her son-in-law, the Duke of Bedford, to enable him to hold it. Upon the accession of the House of Hanover, he was appointed to the bishopric of Bangor.

His preferment soon became the source of fresh troubles. On the 31st March, 1717, he preached before the king the famous sermon on the text, "*And Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world.*" He began with complaining of the perversion of terms. Religion, which formerly meant integrity in our own conduct and charity towards others, now signified, certain forms and ceremonies which varied in every place; the love of God, which used to mean the keeping his commandments, had become a kind of ecstasy composed of mingled passions. In the same manner, men had lost the original sense of the terms kingdom of Christ, or church of Christ, which was, any persons united in believing Christ to be the Messiah, and submitting themselves to his authority. From this, the true interpretation, it follows:—I. That Christ is the sole law-giver of his kingdom: for, if men had any absolute authority to alter, add to, or explain his laws, they would be kings in his place. In human society, indeed, the interpreters of laws may be conveniently separated from the law-giver; for he is always in force to correct or abrogate a vicious interpretation. But as Christ does not interfere to explain his own laws, a power to interpret them is a power to alter or supersede them. II. It appears clearly from Scripture, that the sanction given to the law of Christ did not consist in capital punishment, imprisonment, nor even in the negative dis-

couragement of inability to fill civil offices : his terrors were reserved for the next world. Those who use temporal constraint, therefore, exceed his authority, and abandon his example.

This liberal and enlarged view of a great subject obtained the approbation of the king, by whose order the sermon was printed ; but it enraged all the more zealous partisans of church authority. They asserted that his sermon was intended to pave the way for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts ; a measure, the prospect of which filled the intolerant with horror. Not satisfied with attacking his opinions, a Dr. Snape and others accused him of having asserted falsely that he had not shewn his sermon before it appeared, and persisted in this statement, in spite of Bishop Hoadly's appeal to God in confirmation of his denial : nay, one of his reverend antagonists laid hold of the circumstance of his having admitted, from charity, a converted Jesuit into his house, and taunted him with having a companion who had probably taught him "the art of mental reservation, to enable him to call God to witness to a lie." The truth and sincerity of the bishop at length triumphed over this savage malignity. Such was the anxiety of the public during this clerical dispute, that for two days many shops in the city were shut up, and little or no business was done at the Stock Exchange.* The names of Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock were erased from the list of the king's chaplains.

Hoadly seems to have foreseen how much the church

* Hoadly's Works, fol. vol. ii. p. 429.

would resent any doubt of their absolute authority. A year or two before his sermon, he wrote, and shewed to his friends, a dedication to be prefixed to a pamphlet of Steele's, on the "state of the Roman catholic religion throughout the world." The dedication is addressed to Pope Clement XI., to whom the author wittily says, "Your holiness is not perhaps aware how near the churches of us Protestants have come to those privileges which you boast of as peculiar to your own; so near, that the most quick-sighted persons have not been able to discover any other difference between us, as to the main principle of all, but this one, viz. that you *cannot* err in any thing you determine, and we *never do*; that is, in other words, that you are infallible, and we always in the right."*

Hoadly continued to enjoy the favour of the court. He was translated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury in 1723, and to Winchester in 1734. During the whole course of his progress and promotions, he persevered in the most liberal and charitable opinions, both in church and state. He thought that it was men's duty to examine into the foundations of their belief, in a temper of mind, on the one hand void of credulity, and on the other of pride. He asked them to weigh the character of the Christian religion: "If this be, in all respects, worthy of a holy, just, and good God; if it tends to the interest, ease, and quiet of intelligent creatures; if it tends to the peace of human society, by making the members of it what they ought to

* Hoadly's Works, vol. i. fol. p. 535.

be; in a word, if it be the revival of the great law of reason upon stronger motives than it was ever promulgated before; this will incline you in favour, &c.”*

The divisions among Christians he attributed not to Christianity, but to the perversion which had been made of it, and a forgetfulness of the forbearance it inculcates. It is absurdly ridiculous, he asserts, to see men of profligate lives, and loose or atheistical conversation, set up for a peculiar zeal in favour of the church or sect they have embraced. It is lamentable to see others full of ardour, not for the substance of the Gospel, but for the additions which they or their leaders have made to it, and sooner forgive the most atrocious moral guilt than a departure from these additions.† The church of Rome, indeed, appears to think it highly reasonable, that a supreme judge should have the power to put an end to all doubts. “But, alas! this is but insulting the misfortunes of mankind, instead of curing them: it is a sort of triumphing over their miseries, instead of shewing them a way out of them. Man is so framed by Almighty God, that after his most serious examination of things, he may err. This ought to teach us, that error in an honest mind is not that damnable thing which some would have us believe; THAT THE GREAT DESIGN OF TRUE RELIGION RESPECTS PRACTICE, AND NOT THEORY; AND THAT THE FATHER OF ALL THINGS KNOWS HOW TO MAKE ALL REASONABLE ALLOWANCES FOR THE

* Sermons on the text, “*Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*”

† Ibid.

INVOLUNTARY AND UNDESIGNED MISTAKES OF HIS IMPERFECT CREATURES.”*

Hoadly wished earnestly for a more general conformity to the established church. In a voluminous controversy with Mr. Calamy, he maintained an establishment to be in itself a good; and that if a man could believe that the use of the Book of Common Prayer tends to the proper service of God, he ought to conform to the church. With regard to his own opinions, he lamented, but did not share, the scruples of his friend Dr. Clarke. “I can with a good conscience conform,” he said, “though others cannot; whom I greatly pity, wishing them more liberty. I, speaking for myself only, consider things upon a much larger bottom. I see that I can still promote the Christian religion in general, though cramped in some points, which I judge not to be very essential to it.” His general opinion was, “that, together with the most perfect establishment that can be framed by man, there ought always to be a toleration and protection for such weak and honest Christians as are good and peaceable subjects to the civil constitution.” By toleration, Hoadly meant perfect freedom from all civil inconvenience on account of religion. He maintained against Sherlock (then dean of Chichester) the propriety of repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, and thus firmly declares his own judgement on this subject:

“I am of opinion that difference in church matters, as such, is no ground of restraint in what is the common right of civil

* Sermon on The divisions Christianity has produced among men.

subjects, and that those who have a part in that common right may justly plead it in favour of themselves. The dean may, if he pleases, call this contention by the hard names of avarice and lust of power. But then he must bear to be told, that he does so only because he is uppermost; and that, if he were among the undermost, he would have spirit and sense enough to be the first to feel and speak such grounds of complaint. Nor would he spare to retort upon his adversaries, by telling them to their face, that the exclusion of their fellow-citizens from offices, and the confinement of all to themselves and their own party, is a much more flagrant instance of avarice and lust of power."

In a like spirited manner he disposes of the argument drawn from the ancient disaffection of the dissenters:

"All this disaffection was heightened by the hardships put upon those who at all disapproved of any thing in the established church, even though constant conformists to it. Their suffering in their civil rights, upon religious accounts, was the inflaming consideration, and gave fire to their passions, which at last produced such effects. The contrary, therefore, would have the contrary effect. Let all hardships and all oppressions, little and great, cease: let there be no civil punishment, or civil suffering, or civil inconvenience, on the account of what is the dictate of men's private consciences, unless it immediately affect the civil government; and I cannot but think there would be an end of the keenness of the disaffection itself, and of all the passionate effects of it."

Hoadly was an ardent lover of civil liberty as well as of religious. In one of his works, after declaring the pleasure it gave him to hear all intention of making the

least alteration in the laws regarding the press disowned, he thus proceeds: "As for myself, if there be a point of liberty more than all others my favourite point, it still is, as it has been ever since I could think, this of the liberty of the press. I can never think it a reason for laying any restraint, that ministers are ill-treated or abused. They that will have power, ought to be contented with this perquisite, which will always attend upon it. And should I myself be the subject of satire every Saturday throughout the year, it shall never make any alteration in my judgment or behaviour; because I truly think it is the support of the whole liberty we enjoy; and that the fall of this one particular instance will soon be followed by the fall of others." * In a private letter to Lady Sundon he speaks a similar language: "What can be proposed by the administration from the prosecution of printers and publishers, now again, after so many disappointments, set on foot? I defy them to name any one instance (excepting the case of high treason) in which a prosecution of this sort did not end to the prejudice of the administration, even where they succeeded in the sentence for punishment." †

The whole of Hoadly's labours cannot better be summed up than in his own words, prefixed to a volume of sermons, published in 1754. After remarking how greatly those were mistaken who imagined that he entertained his parishioners in his Sunday discourses with political and controversial points, he continues: "The only inferences

* Defence of the Inquiry, &c. Hoadly's Works, vol. iii. p. 452.

† Works, vol. i.

in my own favour which I wish to be drawn from what is now published, are, that I never omitted any one opportunity, in proper time and place, of defending and strengthening the true and only foundation of all our civil and religious liberties, when it was every day attacked, and of doing all in my power, that the subjects of this royal family should understand and approve of those principles upon which their happiness is fixed, without which it never could have been rightfully established, and must in time fall to the ground. And also, that I was as ready, whenever occasion offered, to defend a religion most amiable in all its precepts, and most beneficial to human society, by shewing it in its native light, free from the false paint with which some, or the undeserved dirt with which others, have covered it."

Hoadly died in the year 1761. He was cheerful, easy, and good-humoured, in character; fond of society, but more happy in the bosom of his own family, which he took every opportunity of instructing by his influence and example. He lived always under a suspicion with the world. Archbishop Secker, arguing one day whether the monthly reviewers were Christians, said, "If they are, it is *secundum usum Winton.*" Others have since averred, that he was "the greatest dissenter that ever was preferred in the church." If so, the dissenters have reason to be proud of such a name: whether churchman or dissenter, he was an ornament to human nature.

We have said that the example of Clarke and Hoadly formed a kind of school, to which many of the most eminent divines of the last century belonged; but as this

conformity is to be traced rather by the general colour of their opinions than by the exact similarity of doctrines, no very definite line can or need be drawn. Dr. John Balguy, vicar of Northallerton, was a personal friend of Hoadly, and addressed to him a volume of "Tracts, moral and theological." His more celebrated son, Dr. Thomas Balguy, falls more properly into the latter part of the century.

Sykes.

One of the most distinguished divines of the school of Clarke and Hoadly, was Dr. Sykes. In the year 1715, he published a tract, called "The Innocency of Error asserted and vindicated." The occasion of it was a position he had laid down, "that no heresy is so destructive of religion as a wicked life; no schism so damnable as a course of sin." This position he undertakes to defend, and, in doing so, to shew, that "no errors, if involuntary, are or can be punishable." In support of this principle he argues, that in all perceptions the mind is passive; and that perceptions of things being in numberless instances quite different from what the things are in themselves, we must necessarily fall into error. That error, therefore, being a mistake of the judgement, is in its own nature involuntary. That it would be the greatest cruelty, injustice, and tyranny imaginable in God to make such creatures as cannot but err, and yet to punish them for erring. That if involuntary errors are punishable by God, the flames will reach to almost all the Christian world. That the situation of mankind in that case would be hopeless; for error, being a mistake of the judgement, must guide our actions as much as truth itself, and leaves no room for

repentance. This doctrine, though true in the main, requires limitation; the worst, as well as the best opinions, flow from the heart.

Dr. Sykes afterwards supported Hoadly in the Trinity controversy against Dr. Waterland. Waterland, who, though little read now, was then the popular champion of the high church, made a furious attack on the followers of Clarke, who being, as he contended, Arians, still signed those articles of the church, which were strictly Trinitarian. Sykes did not deny that the framers of the articles intended them in a different sense from that in which he subscribed them; but maintained that the words would bear the construction he put upon them. And he retorted upon Dr. Waterland and other Arminians, that they did not refuse to subscribe the Calvinistic articles any more than he refused the Trinitarian. This kind of recrimination does little honour to the church.

The general freedom of inquiry which prevailed at this period favoured the growth of talent: the vigorous plants were allowed to take their own bent, and to push forth their shoots in the direction which best suited their nature. Hence the mild wisdom of Jortin, and the fiery vehemence of Warburton.

John Jortin was the son of Renatus Jortin, a French protestant, who came over to England as a refugee about the year 1687. Renatus was made gentleman of the privy chamber by King William; in the year 1707 he was cast away with Sir Cloudesly Shovel, to whom he acted as secretary. His son John was born in London in the year 1698. When at Cambridge, he made translations from Eustathius, with remarks for the use of Pope, and was

Jortin.

not a little mortified that Pope never inquired after him. He was afterwards patronised by Bishops Pearce and Sherlock and Archbishop Herring, and was employed by Warburton to assist him as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, yet never rose higher than to be rector of St. Dunstan in the East, and vicar of Kensington. At this last place he resided till his death, which happened in the year 1770. A few hours before he died, his sick-nurse asked him if he would not take some nourishment: "No," he replied, "I have enough of every thing."

Dr. Jortin was a writer of great learning, some fancy, and considerable powers of sarcasm. The most striking characteristic of his works is an invariable pursuit of truth: to him it little matters in whose system that truth may be found, or for whose advantage it may tell. If his acuteness seems sometimes at fault, his candour and impartiality are never to be questioned. He has himself said: "A theological system is too often a temple consecrated to implicit faith, and he who enters in there to worship, instead of leaving his shoes, after the eastern manner, must leave his understanding at the door; and it will be well if he find it when he comes out again."* Jortin's honest purpose, however, goes with him into every corner of the temple. But he has not the art of uniting the various threads of his narrative into one uniform texture; and this serious defect is conspicuous in both of his great works, the "Life of Erasmus," and the "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History." Dr. Parr has praised him largely, but with discrimination: "Wit without ill-

* Six Dissertations. Diss. II. p. 103.

nature, and sense without effort, he could at will scatter upon every subject; and in every book the writer presents us with a distinct view of the real man.... Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path; and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he at least secures our confidence by the firmness of his step.... The esteem, the affection, the reverence, which I feel for so profound a scholar, and so honest a man, as Dr. Jortin, make me wholly indifferent to the censure of those who vilify, without reading, his writings, or read them, without finding some incentive to study, some proficiency in knowledge, or some improvement in virtue." Jortin had the merit of being quite free from the fierce controversial spirit which is so often the fault of theological writers: he formed his opinions from facts, was orthodox without artifice, and liberal without pretension: above all, he hated to see the want of argument supplied by abusive names. Talking of the fashion of treating an adversary as a Socinian, he says, "As great guns are the *ratio ultima regum*, so these are the *ratio ultima disputatorum*, and supply the want of ammunition: and yet it is not altogether fair and honourable war; it is shooting chewed bullets and glass bottles."* A learned prelate of the present day has called him *elegantissimus theologus*:† a well-deserved and well-chosen eulogy.

* Jortin's Remarks, vol. i. p. 200.

† Blomfield's Callimachus. H. in Delum, v. 255.

Warburton.

William Warburton was descended from an ancient and very considerable family of Cheshire; his grandfather was a royalist, and served under Sir George Booth during the civil wars; his father was an attorney at Newark. He was born December 24, 1698; received his education at Newark and Okeham, and was afterwards five years clerk to an eminent attorney, likewise resident in Nottinghamshire. His biographer has made it matter of congratulation that he shewed no extraordinary talents at school, and that he did not receive any part of his education at a university; the first, because the mountain oak grows more slowly than the sapling of our gardens; the second, because, not being confined by fashion, he could better acquire an enlarged turn of mind. But had he been a genius at school, and gained distinctions at Oxford or Cambridge, it is easy to see that the complaisant biographer would equally have found reason to praise and rejoice.

Certain it is, however, that Warburton, by his own undirected talent and application, laid deeply the foundations of extensive knowledge; and becoming, as was natural, disgusted with the business of an attorney's life, it was found advisable to give way to his inclination of taking orders. He was now ably assisted in his studies by a relation who kept the school at Newark; and in 1723 was ordained deacon in the cathedral of York, by Archbishop Dawes.

The first direction taken by the mind of Warburton was towards verbal criticism; he furnished Mr. Theobald with some notes on Shakspeare, and meditated a new

edition of Velleius Paterculus. But from this last labour, to which he was probably excited by the reputation of Bentley, Hare, and others, he was dissuaded by Dr. Middleton, then his friend, who thought the design "*not worthy of his talents and industry, which, instead of trifling in words, seems calculated rather to correct the opinions and manners of the world.*"

It is singular enough that the earliest publication of Warburton, more analogous to his first than his final profession, should be a volume on the Legal Judicature of Chancery. The work was undertaken in behalf of a master in chancery, who had been severely handled by an adverse writer on the subject. Many years after, Warburton mentioned his part in the dispute to Mr. Charles Yorke: Mr. Yorke smiled, saying, he fancied Warburton was not aware who had been his antagonist; and thereupon named his father, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, then attorney-general, who had thought right to interfere in behalf of his relation, Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls.

In 1728, soon after taking priest's orders, Warburton was presented by Sir Robert Sutton to the rectory of Brand-Broughton, in the neighbourhood of Newark. Here he fixed himself with his mother and sisters, and here he resided for the space of eighteen years, comprising the best portion of his life. His habits were strictly those of a scholar. Except when occupied by his duties as a parish priest, he spent nearly the whole of his time in study. His constitution was strong and his temperance

habitual; he could, in consequence, sit up the greater part of the night without injury to his health. His way was to intermix his reading, so as to make the lighter relieve the more serious: for example, he would always have some work of wit and humour lying by him, which he would take up when he felt himself fatigued; and after spending some time upon it would find himself so refreshed that he returned with new life to his more serious employment. He owes to this habit, which struck deep into his mind, that rich vein of illustration which distinguishes his works from those of nearly every other divine of this century. Nor is the hint without its value to persons who read only to pass time and acquire information: a serious work read too doggedly wearies the mind, and a light one exhausts the spirits; so that with too constant application, an instructive book ceases to instruct, or an amusing one to amuse.

In the year 1736, Warburton, with a view of defending the test laws, published the "Alliance between Church and State," one of those great works upon which his reputation is built. The ability with which this book was written, the novelty of the theory he proposed, and the ingenuity with which he supported it, attracted general admiration. But neither party in the church was pleased; the high Tories could not bear to rest their claims lower than they had hitherto done, and the liberal Whigs could not approve of an author who made a test law an essential part of the establishment. He received many compliments, however, on his work; among the rest a very flattering one from

Bishop Hare, who hinted, at the same time, that he was "not entirely in the same ways of thinking."

At the close of the first edition of the *Alliance*, Warburton announced his next and greatest work, the "*Divine Legation of Moses*." Some deists, or free thinkers, as they were called, had contended that the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the Mosaic Law was a clear proof of its being an imposture. Warburton undertook to prove, from the very same circumstance, that it was of divine origin. This opinion could not fail to appear strange and paradoxical. Accordingly, when the first volume appeared, in the beginning of the year 1738, Bishop Hare wrote to the author: "I hear nobody speak of your book who do not express themselves highly entertained with it; though they think the principal point, which remains to be proved, a paradox."* Bishop Sherlock is equally cautious, while approving the book, not to adopt the theory: "The learning and ability of the author of the *Legation*," he says, "are not called in question; and the first part has raised a great desire and expectation of the second."†

A passage which gave much offence in some quarters, was one in which Warburton spoke highly of Dr. Middleton, whose friendship he valued, and whom he wished to preserve to the church. Middleton, apprised of his intention, desired him to consider how far he might expose himself to a share of the envy which still lay heavy upon his friend. To this Warburton honourably replied, "I would

* Life of Warburton, prefixed to his works, p. 20.

† Id. p. 21.

fain contribute to abate an unjust prejudice that might lie in the way of those honours which wait for you, and are so much your due; and I shall reckon it for nothing in so honest an attempt, to run the risk of sharing that prejudice with you." He accordingly published the passage; and when he was attacked, replied in a vindication, which justified his own orthodoxy, without giving up his friend.

Their correspondence continued without anger or dispute to the year 1741; and even in that year, upon occasion of a difference between them respecting Cicero, Warburton wrote to Middleton, "The Life of Tully and the D. L. have given an example which few have set us, and perhaps few will follow, how men who esteem and love each other should comport themselves when they differ in opinion; so that, whichever is right or wrong in *opinion*, the honest part of the world will judge both of us to be right in *sentiment*." Dr. Middleton replied in the same strain, and assured his correspondent that their literary contest did not make the least impression upon him. But, alas for human friendships! the very same year, upon a new difference of opinion respecting the origin of popish ceremonies, these two candid friends cooled towards each other, and their correspondence, which had lasted some fifteen years, ceased for ever. The reason, perhaps, why a matter so far removed from the concerns of life as a question upon a sentence of Cicero, or a ceremony of Rome, is able to make so fatal an impression is, that our self-love takes part in the dispute. However trifling the point, a man is hurt to find that his authority has no influence on his friend.

Hence it is easier for two persons to become attached, who knowingly differ on all the great questions of religion, morals, and politics; than for those whose sentiments have not been very widely apart, to disagree long without a breach in their affections.

The first work of Warburton, the "Alliance between Church and State," induced Bishop Hare to recommend him to Queen Caroline, as a fit person to entertain her with his conversation. But the death of that good queen stopped this way to promotion. In 1739, Warburton published a defence of the Essay on Man against Crousaz, which might have induced Pope to exclaim in triumph,

"Arnauld, le grand Arnauld, fait mon apologie."

This circumstance naturally produced a friendly intimacy between Pope and Warburton. In 1740 Warburton paid his first visit to Twickenham, of which he gives the following account, in a letter to Dr. Middleton: "I passed about a week at Twickenham, in the most agreeable manner. Mr. Pope is as good a companion as a poet; and what is more, appears to be as *good* a man." In the following year he paid a second visit, and Mr. Pope and he went together to Oxford. Some members of the university proposed to confer on Pope the degree of doctor of laws, and on Warburton of divinity, but bigotry as usual interfered; to the Roman Catholic poet no objection was made, but the Protestant champion was rejected. Pope remarked truly to his friend, "We shall take our degree together in fame, whatever we may do at the university."

Warburton now became the most intimate friend of

Pope; and being invited by Mr. Allen to meet him at Prior Park, went over carefully the fourth book of the *Dunciad*, which Pope was engaged in writing and revising. This book of the *Dunciad* was esteemed by Bolingbroke and other good judges the most finished of all Pope's poems: when complete, Warburton consented to become the editor of the whole *Dunciad*, and executed the office so much to his friend's satisfaction, that he engaged him to perform the like service to the rest of his works. Warburton advised him to strike out every thing in them that might be suspected of having the least glance towards fate or naturalism: Pope consented with great readiness, which vexed Bolingbroke, his former "guide, philosopher, and friend," in no small degree.

Pope died in 1744; but Warburton derived from this connexion not only the pleasure of familiar intercourse with so great a genius, and the honour of being his posthumous editor, but likewise the advantage of making friends of Mr. Murray and Mr. Allen, the one among the ablest, and the other among the best men of the age. Mr. Murray caused him to be unanimously elected to the preachingship of Lincoln's Inn; Mr. Allen gave him his niece, Miss Tucker, to whom he was married in 1746. For several years he resided chiefly at Prior Park. Here he enjoyed an agreeable country, the best company, rising fame, and great prospects of ambition. Yet he was used to say, that the most delightful part of his life was that which he spent at Newark and Brand-Broughton. To a man of vigorous mind, the exercise of his faculties, uninterrupted by business, is the highest of enjoyments.

In the year 1747 appeared his edition of Shakspeare; in 1751, the complete works of Pope. He now obtained from Lord Chancellor Hardwicke a prebend of Gloucester, which a year or two afterwards he exchanged for a much better one at Durham, procured for him by Mr. Murray. Upon the publication of Lord Bolingbroke's philosophical works, he planned a View of them, in four letters to a friend; and upon finishing it, wrote to Dr. Balguy, "I have given to it all the finishing in my power; and reckon, if any thing of mine should stumble down to posterity, it will have as good a chance as any. And now—*cæstus artemque repono.*"

But it was not so. A mind like his could not lie fallow. Before noticing his other works, however, it is proper to mention, that towards the end of the year 1757 he was made Dean of Bristol, and in the year 1760 Bishop of Gloucester. Mr. Pitt, who then governed, valued himself much on this preferment: he said, in a letter to a friend, that nothing of a private nature, since he had been in office, had given him so much pleasure as his bringing Dr. Warburton upon the bench. And with reason; the promotion of so learned and able an advocate of Christianity did him honour. Warburton disappointed many by not taking an active part in the House of Lords; but it must be recollected that he was upwards of sixty when promoted, and that the vigour of his life had been spent in the labours of the closet.

Before he was made a bishop he wrote some notes on Mr. Hume's "Natural History of Religion," which were pub-

lished in a disguised form by his friend Dr. Hurd ; and in 1762 he gave to the world a treatise in two small volumes on the Doctrine of Grace ; in which, after confuting infidel writers, he attacked with rough ridicule John Wesley, as the leader of those whom he styled fanatics. Yet he himself had proved most logically, in the dedication of his Divine Legation, that ridicule is not a test of truth.

The rest of his life was occupied in correcting and finishing his former works ; in repelling an attack of Dr. Lowth, on the subject of the Book of Job ; and in preparing for the press the ninth and last book of the Divine Legation. But his health and his faculties had both suffered from time and exertion ; he composed with difficulty, and at intervals. In answer to some advice of his friend Dr. Hurd, not to pursue his studies too closely, he says, " You know, by experience, how difficult it is, when we have once got into a wicked habit of thinking, to leave it off. All I can promise is, if that will satisfy you, to think to no purpose. I think you have heard me say, that my delicious season is the autumn ; the season which gives most life and vigour to my mental faculties. The light mists, or, as Milton calls them, the *steams*, that rise from the fields in one of these mornings, give the same relief to the views that the blue of the plum (to take my ideas from the season) gives to the appetite. But I now enjoy little of this pleasure, compared to what I formerly had in an autumn morning, when I used, with a book in my hand, to traverse the delightful lawns and hedge-rows round about the town of Newark, the *unthinking* place of

my nativity."* Having occasion to look back at his view of Lord Bolingbroke's philosophy, he writes, "But this retrospect is accompanied with a mortifying conviction, that the time is past when I was able to write with that force. Expect in my future writings the marks of intellectual decay." In another letter he mentions that his wife told him Dr. Hurd had assured her he would write no more. "I received this news, which gave her so much satisfaction, with an approving smile. I was charmed with the tenderness of friendship, which conveyed in so inoffensive a manner that fatal secret, which Gil Blas was incapable of doing as he ought to his patron the Archbishop of Granada." There is something very melancholy in this glimmer of a light that once burnt so brightly; perhaps the more vigorous the flame, the sooner is the oil exhausted. The full exercise of powerful faculties may but hasten their extinction.

Another passage may be here quoted as giving Warburton's opinion of the pleasures and pains of human life. "I do the best I can, and should, I think, do the same, if I were a mere Pagan, to make life passable. To be always lamenting the miseries, or always seeking after the pleasures of it, equally takes us off from the work of our salvation. And though I be extremely cautious what sect I follow in religion, any in philosophy will serve my turn; and honest Sancho Panza's is as good as any, who, on his return from an important commission, when asked by his master whether they should mark the day with a

* Life, p. 99.

black or a *white* stone, replied, 'Faith, sir, if you will be ruled by me, with neither, but with *good brown ochre*!' What this philosopher thought of his commission, I think of human life in general; *good brown ochre* is the complexion of it."*

The last blow to his happiness was given by the loss of a favourite and only child, a son who died in his eighteenth year, just as his fond parent hoped to see him enter life with credit and honour. It was a stroke from which he never recovered; he lived on, indeed, for between two and three years, but with impaired faculties, and without any concern for, or attention to, what was passing around him. He died on the 7th of June, 1779, and was buried in the cathedral of Gloucester.

Warburton was a great and powerful writer. With strong natural powers, and the contents of his armoury so disposed that he could bring them forth at pleasure, he appeared in the field of controversy one of the most formidable champions who ever wielded the weapons of literary contention. Neither learning, nor logic, nor wit, were wanting at his will. With an astonishing copiousness of illustration, he has a rare sagacity in penetrating the sense of passages which men of eminence had blindly copied, or vainly attempted to understand. His works are, therefore, the most entertaining and agreeable of all controversial writings. As a guide to follow, he is not so commendable; he is not only fond of a system, but he prefers a paradoxical system to a simple one. Every thing which

* Life, vol. i. p. 130.

he can find in the Holy Scriptures, in ancient lore, in modern literature, he breaks or bends till it is fit to make a part of his fanciful building. The chief quality of his mind is vigour; of his style, force and freedom: but his force sometimes passes into coarseness, and his freedom into carelessness. It should never, indeed, be imputed to him as a fault that what he felt strongly he expressed warmly, or that when he saw the very citadel of religion assailed he was over zealous in her defence. But the consciousness of his power made him vain; he thought too highly of himself and too meanly of his adversaries. This temper is more especially conspicuous in the second part of the Divine Legation: in the first he shewed only the confidence of an inventor, who loves his system and has laboured hard in its support; but in the second, when he had been attacked,

“ The good old man, too eager in dispute,
Flew high, and as his Christian fury rose,
Damned all for heretics who durst oppose.”*

He had a giant's strength, and he used it like a giant. This dogmatic pride was fostered and inflamed by the flattery of a small band of followers, especially by Dr. Hurd. On the appearance of Hume's Essays, we find Warburton hinting to his friend that he has a great mind to confute that philosopher's argument on miracles. “ I have a great mind to do justice on his argument against miracles, which, I think, might be done in few words. But does he deserve

* Religio Laici.

this notice? Is he known amongst you? Pray answer me these questions. For if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory.* In a later part of his life he sketched a plan of three dissertations, in which he meant to review all Voltaire's remarks on the Jewish history; to expose his mistakes, and attack his opinions by ridicule and reason. This would have been a valuable work to all generations; but his officious friend told him "there was no end of confuting every shallow, though fashionable, scribbler against religion;" that he thought it beneath the bishop "to commit himself with a person so little acquainted as Voltaire confessedly was with the matter in question; and that for *him* to answer such a writer in form, would be like *breaking a butterfly upon the wheel*." Yet Voltaire was a more formidable enemy of Christianity than the Tindal and Collins against whom the best warriors of the church had contended with all their armour. It was not merely the infidel writers, however, that were treated with this kind of disdain by Warburton. Dr. Jortin, one of the ablest and most upright men who adorned the church during the last century, and a long time his friend, the bishops, the methodists, and all rival authors, are treated either with anger or contempt.†

No wonder if, with such an exaggerated notion of his own merits, and so low a one of his opponents, Warburton's correspondence is in a tone of alternate presumption and

* Life, p. 78.

† See Note B, at the end of the volume.

complaint. What he writes is perfect; the side which he espouses is without any doubt the right one; men are blind or envious, not to be aware of his superiority over all other writers; and, in the last resort, he constantly appeals from his own age to posterity to crown him with unmingled glory. He has not succeeded in this appeal. He is, indeed, esteemed a great writer; but few adopt him as a teacher of theology, and the majority are contented to take his character from hearsay.

Yet there is one of his complaints which, if not just, is natural. The clergy, surprised by the novelty of his propositions, resenting, perhaps, that such prodigality of learning should have been acquired out of the university, awed by the freedom of his language, and, above all, suspicious of the aid of a new paradox as the support of an ancient religion, feared and disliked him. This he felt acutely. "I am still condemned," he says, "to drudge in the mines of antiquity. I may well give it that slavish appellation, while I am so used by my masters, the clergy, for whose ease and profit I am working." And again, when the "View of Bolingbroke's Works" was coming out: "You will see, there is a continued apology for the clergy; yet they will neither love me the more, nor forgive me the sooner, for all I can say in their behalf."* To the censures of the enemies of religion he could be indifferent; "But that my brethren, the established clergy, the friends of religion, and fellow-members of that society whose cause I am pleading; that these should set them-

* Life, p. 96.

selves against me with so much rancour, is what I cannot well bear.”*

Warburton, though a dogmatic writer, had too much force and originality in his own manner of writing, not to value the freedom of discussion. He was not one of those slavish and despicable men who employ the resources of eloquence and learning to recommend a prostration of the mind, which would soon be fatal to all eloquence and all learning. He perceived and taught how favourable is the liberty of discussion to the interests of truth. “Nor less friendly,” he continues, “is this liberty to the generous advocate of religion: for how could such a one, when in earnest convinced by the evidence of his cause, desire an adversary whom the laws had before disarmed, or value a victory where the magistrate must triumph with him? Even I, the meanest in this controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great Jewish lawgiver, did not I know that the same liberty of thinking was impartially indulged to all.”† Bishop Hoadly had said, that a more extended uniformity might justly be thought an advantage to a Christian nation. Warburton, speaking of the church, affirms, “that the wider the bottom is made, (consistent with the peace of society and the being of a Christian church,) the wiser and juster is that religious institution.”

His way of writing was to put down, in a small pocket almanack, notes of any thing remarkable that his reading or reflection furnished. At the end of the year he ar-

* Life, p. 97.

† Dedication to the D. L. p. vii.

ranged these notes under general heads; and when he came to write from them, he did it with so much facility, that in his best days he did not keep in his hands two sheets together, but sent the manuscript to the printer as fast as it was composed, and that without correcting the press.* This method led necessarily to long digressions, and a want of proportion between the parts and the whole. When he finally revised his works, he was become very fastidious in style, and reviewed the same sheet several times; on which Mr. Bowyer, the learned printer, said to him, "Those were fine times, when you never blotted a line, but allowed me to print your copy as fast as it came to hand, and without interruption." †

Before the appearance of Warburton's "Essay on the Alliance between Church and State," two opinions upon the subject of church establishments divided the learned of England. The high church party taught that the true religion had a right to protection from the civil government, exclusive of every other. The low church party considered the church as a scriptural institution, endowed by the state, and which would flourish the more were every discouragement taken away from the profession of dissent.

Between these two opinions Warburton raised his theory. He supposed the church and state to be two separate and independent powers, each needing the assistance of the other; the church without the state being unable to enforce obedience or collect revenue; the state without

* See Life, and Nichols's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 153. † Life, p. 92.

the church being incompetent to offer sufficient reward, or to menace sufficient punishment, to induce men to good, or to deter them from evil. Hence an alliance between them: the state obliges its subjects to contribute to the support of the clergy, and, *by a test law*, excludes dissenters from its offices of trust and profit; the church, on the other hand, inculcates obedience to the state, as a duty acceptable to God, and threatens evil-doers with the torments of a future life.

The first question asked of Warburton was, Where is this treaty of alliance to be found? He answered, glibly enough, "In the same archives with the original contract between king and people."* But, with his leave, there is a great difference in the two cases. The English parliament of the seventeenth century, when they spoke of an original contract for the purpose of excluding King James; and the Spaniards of the sixteenth, when, in their remonstrances to Charles the Fifth, they appealed to a tacit contract, alike made use of a convenient fiction, by which they meant to express, that the duties of kings and subjects were reciprocal, and that when the sovereign violated the laws which protected his people, they were at liberty to violate those which secured him their obedience. But if the state should cease to observe the terms of its alliance; should despoil, as Henry the Eighth did, the clergy of their property; where is *their* remedy? Can *they* resume their independence? No; unless, indeed, it be such an independence as the Roman Catholic church

* Divine Leg. book ii.

enjoyed during the reign of Elizabeth, with the natural privilege of preaching disobedience to the sovereign, but at the risk of being hanged for exercising it.

If we examine a little further the terms employed by Warburton, we shall see still more clearly that his theory is what it has lately been called, "an arbitrary, though very splendid fiction."* The church, in its independent and original form, wants the power of enforcing its commands: in short, the church can neither raise contributions for its support, nor obtain reverence for its ministers, but with the free consent of its congregation. A society thus powerless is, in fact, nothing more than a voluntary association for special purposes. To speak of the state forming an alliance with such a body as this, is to pervert the meaning of terms. A church, of any particular faith, forms sometimes the whole, but generally only part, of the subjects of the state. The state may adopt, favour, and establish one religious community over the rest, as Mary established the Roman Catholic, and Elizabeth the present church of England; or, like the United States of America, it may adopt none of them. The subordination of the church or sect, whether established or not, to the state, unless in a theocracy, remains in all cases complete and unbroken.

Seeing no reason, therefore, to adopt the ingenious theory of Warburton, let us examine the two other sup-

* "These censures of the archbishop (Magee) have tempted us to renew our acquaintance with this very ingenious performance (the Alliance); and we have risen from our perusal of it with a confirmed persuasion that it is no better than an arbitrary, though very splendid fiction."—*British Critic; Quarterly Theological Review*. July 1827. No. III. p. 132.

positions. The one is, that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to establish the true religion, and to discourage every other by penalty, or, what is the same thing, disqualification. It is obvious that this theory leads to the principle of the Inquisition. If a fanatic is to enforce what he thinks the true religion, against the wishes, feelings, and faith of the people he governs, Philip the Second no longer wants an apology for the cruelties he perpetrated in the Netherlands.

We come, then, to the last theory. To leave religion to be carried on by clubs and money subscriptions, opens the way to fanaticism, dissension, and a degrading dependence of the clergy upon the caprices of a religious democracy: it is the duty of the civil magistrate, therefore, to provide a fund out of which teachers of the divine law may be decently maintained and duly rewarded. In choosing the sect which he will prefer for this purpose, he must unite the considerations of truth, utility, and public opinion. If a religion is false and mischievous, he ought not to give it the preference; and if it is confined to a small number, he cannot. It should be his endeavour, therefore, to bring it as near the truth, and make it as useful to the greater number, as his situation will allow. Such was apparently the design of our ancestors in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when they often yielded to popery in form, in order to destroy it in substance. Having done this, the state should combine with the ascendancy of one religion the most perfect liberty for all the rest.*

* I have been the longer upon this point, as the subject is not very

It may be remarked, that in the "Alliance of Church and State," Warburton objects to the Roman Catholics, that their allegiance is imperfect. A very fair distinction for a scholastic logician; but to the eye of a statesman, obeying the laws, paying the taxes, serving in the wars of the state, constitute a sufficient, if not a complete allegiance.

"*The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*" is the other great work of Bishop Warburton. It pleased his paradoxical and ingenious mind to maintain that the want of the doctrine of a future state proves the Law of Moses to be of divine original. For this purpose he proposed to establish, by argument, 1. That to inculcate the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of civil society; 2. That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil society; 3. That the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Jewish dispensation. From these propositions he draws the inference, which he puts in the form of a syllogism, that the Jewish religion and society, having no future state for their

satisfactorily left by Archdeacon Paley, our great guide upon these subjects. He affirms, that the ruler of the state ought to establish the true religion, and then proceeds to argue that the religion of the greater number is as likely to be true as any other. But such an argument as this not only would not prevail with a bigot like Philip the Second, but in many cases would not prevail with a very tolerant and enlightened statesman. There are some religions so degrading and enslaving, that no benevolent monarch or just senate, who had it in their power to refuse, would make them the established religion of their dominions.

support, must have been supported by an extraordinary providence.

Although Warburton expends an immense magazine of learning and acute observation in the attempt to prove these three propositions, he cannot be said to have succeeded. With respect to the first proposition, it is evident, that in the absence of a belief in a future state, a nation may be equally restrained and directed by a religion which teaches that God is ever present, with unbounded power and unbending justice, to punish his enemies with pestilence, famine, captivity, and death, and reward his worshippers with riches, dominion, glory, and long life. The author himself admits, nay, argues at great length, that a belief in an equal dispensation of good and evil, or, in other words, an extraordinary providence, would serve the purpose of civil society as well as a belief in a future state. But if it be true, as he says, that the doctrine of a future state was in many of the ancient communities a political imposture, may it not likewise be true that the doctrine of an extraordinary providence was likewise, in many instances, a convenient cover for fraud? Indeed, it would be as easy to cite instances of legislators and chiefs who have sheltered themselves under an extraordinary providence, as of those who have taught, for political purposes, the doctrine of future punishment and reward. This objection, or something like it, was made at the time; and the bishop's answer was, that believers do not require the miracles of the Old Testament to be proved, and unbelievers will not credit them. If so, the whole work seems to be useless. All it can effect is, to satisfy of

the divine origin of the Jewish religion those who were convinced of it already. For it proves only thus much: society must be maintained by the belief in a future world, or a just providence in this; Moses did not pretend to a knowledge of a future life, which other legislators did, but he promised an extraordinary providence. A question naturally arises, was this promise fulfilled by God? If not, your work falls to the ground: if it was, there is no need of any further argument to prove the religion divine. As to the second proposition, although it is clear that the most learned men of antiquity thought, as all men of understanding must think, that the doctrine of a future state was of great use to civil society, yet it is likewise true, and appears from the Divine Legation itself, that those who doubted on this subject did not hesitate to express those doubts to their followers and disciples. We now come to the third proposition, that the doctrine of a future state did not make part of the Jewish religion. But what if it should appear, that although not delivered by Moses as a doctrine, it did form part of the belief of a great portion of the Jewish people, and was a matter of dispute among the learned of Judea, just as it was among the learned of Athens and of Rome? The Pharisees and Sadducees, we know, were divided on this very point; the Pharisees teaching the existence of a future world, and the Sadducees denying it. Now, when the Sadducees came to dispute with Jesus on this point, what did he say to them? Did he say, It is true, the religion of Moses contains no future state, but I come to reveal to you this great truth? No; he replied that a future state was acknowledged by the Jewish religion itself. "Then came to him certain of

the Sadducees (*which deny that there is any resurrection,*) and they asked him, saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, if any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. There were, therefore, seven brethren, and the first took a wife, and died without children. And the second took her to wife, and he died childless. And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also; and they left no children and died. Last of all the woman died also. Therefore, in the resurrection, whose wife of them is she? For seven had her to wife. And Jesus answering, said unto them, *The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Now that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto him.* Then certain of the Scribes, answering, said, Master, thou hast well said. And after that they durst not ask him any question at all.* Warburton endeavours, but in vain, to overcome this objection, which appeared convincing to the mind of the pious and learned Sherlock. There are many other passages, both in the Old and New Testament, which likewise tend to shew the belief of the Jews in a future state, and

* Luk e, xx. 27. et seq. Matt. xxii. 23.

which were quoted against Warburton with irresistible effect.

Thus it appears, that so far from the three propositions on which the theory of Warburton stands, being true, it can hardly be said that one of them is so. But the failure of only one would be sufficient to cause the failure of the whole demonstration. It is no wonder, therefore, that the clergy objected to placing the arguments for Christianity upon a ground from which they were sure to be driven.

But although the success of the demonstration may be denied, it is impossible to read it without admiring the learning, sagacity, and indefatigable vigour of the author. So that, although the main points are not carried, such advances are made over the steep heights of knowledge, such study of ancient literature is displayed, and so much of ancient religion and philosophy is thrown open, that the student can never regret the time past in mastering this great work. As in reading the Faery Queen we may throw away the allegory; so in reading the Divine Legation we may dismiss the main argument from our minds, and we shall always find far more than enough to repay our trouble. Such is the fame of Warburton at the present day; his works are read by all scholars, but he is not recommended as a guide of the ignorant, or a leader of the church.

We may conclude this account of Warburton with his representation of the morality of the Gospel, which is at once worthy of this great man, and shews him to have belonged in spirit to a century famed for enlightened discussion.

“The Gospel is a very different thing from what bigots and fanatics are wont to represent it. It enjoins and forbids nothing in moral practice but what natural religion had before enjoined and forbid. Neither, indeed, could it; because one of God’s revelations, whether ordinary or extraordinary, cannot contradict another; and because God gave us the first to judge of others by it. Accordingly, we find, that though it be indeed one of the great ends of Christianity (but not the main and peculiar end) to advance the practice of moral virtue amongst men, yet the New Testament doth not contain any regular or complete system or digest of moral laws; the detached precepts enforced by our Divine Master in it, how excellent and perfect soever, arising only from the occasions and circumstances which gave birth to those discourses or writings, in which such precepts are delivered. For the rest, for a general knowledge of the system of moral duty, the founders of our religion hold open to us the great Pandect of the law of Nature, and bid us search and study that. *Finally, says the Apostle Paul, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, think on these things.* But where vicious custom or perverse interpreters had depraved the religion of nature, there particular care was taken to remove the rubbish of time and malice, and to reinstate the injured moralities in their primitive dignity and splendour.”

In this place, we might mention Dr. Mill, editor of the Greek Testament; Dr. Thirlby, editor of Justin Martyr; Shuckford, author of the Connexion; Drs. Whitby, Mangey,

and several others; but it is out of our power to enter into their various merits without more space than can be spared. It is impossible, however, to pass over one more divine, whose writings would better deserve admiration if they became his station and profession. Conyers Middleton. Middleton was born in the year 1683. His father, who was rector of Hinderwell in Yorkshire, sent him at the age of seventeen to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner. He does not appear to have published any thing till, on the occasion of his being made a doctor, he engaged in controversy with Bentley: a bitter pamphlet of his is said to have had the mischievous effect of inducing that learned critic to renounce his design of publishing a new edition of the Greek Testament. In 1724, Middleton was in Italy, and after his return he burst upon the world with his "Letter from Rome." In this entertaining performance he shews that many of the ceremonies of the Roman Christians are derived from the Roman Pagans. Yet a Catholic might object, that if pomp be allowable as an attendant upon religion, this could hardly fail to be the case; that the real test would have been to examine whether the doctrines and morality of Popery were copied from those of Paganism; and that it was no more blameable to use the trappings worn by falsehood for the advancement of truth, than for a legitimate king to use the crown and sceptre of a usurper, or for an individual to apply to purposes of charity the gold which had before been perverted for the corruption of honesty.

The "Letter from Rome" excited some apprehensions too among the English clergy, who reflected that our

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church had not torn from its vestments all the lace of Popery. But far greater and more general alarm was spread when Middleton published a letter to Dr. Waterland on his answer to Tindal. Waterland had defended, feebly and heavily, no doubt, the texts which Tindal attacked; Middleton, instead of a closer defence of these barriers, proposed to give them all up, and to confine the defence of Christianity to a general argument, that the light of nature was insufficient; that the Christian scheme contained a perfect system of morality; and that where it appeared to differ from reason, its teachers were every day bringing it nearer. The chosen champions of the church were naturally indignant both at the substance of this pamphlet and at the sneering, scornful tone in which it was written. Bishop Pearce wrote a severe reply, in which he directly accused the author of dishonesty in his quotations: public indignation nearly drove him from the university, and his hopes of preferment were stopped for ever. Sir Robert Walpole once made an attempt, but in vain, to name him Master of the Charter House.

In 1741 appeared his "Life of Cicero," the only one of his works which in these days is much read. It is assuredly a most valuable book, and places in a clear light many transactions of one of the most interesting periods in the history of mankind. A great critic of the present time observes, however, that it has three great faults, viz. too great partiality to the hero; too little regard to his literary character; and a want of critical attention to historical facts.*

* Wolfius. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 412. See Note C. at the end of the volume.

His last great work was an attempt to shew that no miraculous powers existed in the church after the days of the Apostles, and, consequently, that all the miracles reported of the subsequent ages must be considered as forgeries. This discourse was thought to reflect so greatly on the authority of the fathers, that Christianity itself was endangered by the undertaking. Accordingly, answers innumerable, and invectives as many, appeared against the author. Yet his arguments are able, always put with clearness, and not seldom convincing.* In the midst of this shower of arrows, he made a fresh attack on opinions held to be orthodox, in an examination of Bishop Sherlock's Discourses on Prophecy. The purpose of this little book was to maintain a theory he had long held, that the story of the temptation of Eve by the serpent, in the first chapter of Genesis, is no more than an allegory in the usual style of eastern instruction. He presses his point with great ingenuity, but was not thought by men of learning to have shaken the established doctrine. It was imputed to him likewise, that his assertion that Sherlock's Discourses had fallen lately into his hands, was not true; that, in fact, Sherlock had himself given them to him in 1725, when they first appeared; and that his only motive, in his tardy reply, was to revenge himself on Sherlock, whom he unjustly supposed his enemy in the affair of the Charter House.

After this diversion, Middleton prepared himself to combat his adversaries on the miraculous powers; and for this purpose cried up the answers of Church and

* See Note D. at the end of the volume.

Dodwell, as containing all that could be said against him. But, in the midst of this occupation, he was carried off by a hectic fever in July 1750, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Dr. Middleton was a man of very considerable talents and much acquired knowledge: but he never learned, to his own satisfaction or that of the world, what use to make of them. His creed may be gathered, pretty correctly, from his works; he did not actually believe in Christianity, yet thought it not impossible to be true. In a letter to Warburton (who had always a bias in his favour), he says, "As for myself, I can safely swear with Tully, that I have *a most ardent desire to find out the truth*: but as I have generally been disappointed in my inquiries, and more successful in finding what is false than what is true, I begin, like him too, to grow a mere Academic, humbly content to take up with the probable."* In fact, although he would not quite profess it to Warburton, he seems to have finally adopted the opinions of the Academy, and those of Cicero in particular; he perceived much which he thought false, and even grossly superstitious, in the accredited doctrines, but believed the national religion to be, upon the whole, a useful institution. This conviction, he seems to have thought, was not to prevent him, any more than it had done Cicero, from exposing what he considered absurd or ridiculous in the received opinions.† But, in making this conclusion, he seems to have overlooked two things: the one, that his discourses were not,

* Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii. p. 467.

† See especially the Preface to the second volume of his Miscell. Works.

like the philosophical dialogues of Tully, confined to a select few of the learned, but were printed for the use of the very people whom he wished to retain in their belief; the other, that to seek for the emoluments of a church he was undermining, and to think that he made a title to them by subscribing to what he did not believe, was neither honest, wise, nor respectable. In short, Middleton was one of those men doomed to suffer the uneasiness ever attached to inconsistency in our expectations. Too vain, or, it may be, too fond of truth, not to publish his doubts, but too worldly to be content to pay the penalty of his avowal, he was neither an obedient and conscientious churchman, nor a bold and sincere freethinker. Unfaithful as a sentinel, timid as an assailant, he passed his life suspended between preferment and philosophy, without ever reaching the dignity of the one, or the liberty of the other.* As a writer, his style is greatly, perhaps too greatly, admired.

Such were the chief divines of the church of England, who flourished and wrote during the first half of the eighteenth century. It will not be denied, that the acute discernment, the extensive scope, the varied learning, the general benevolence of the governors and leaders of that church, were agreeable to the knowledge and temper of

* If any one thinks the remarks in the text too severe, let him read the following extract of a letter to Lord Hervey, dated Sept. 13, 1736: "These slumberers in stalls suspect me very unjustly of ill designs against their peace; for though there are many things in the church that I wholly dislike, yet, whilst I am content to acquiesce in the ill, I should be glad to taste a little of the good, and to have some amends for that *ugly assent and consent*, which no man of sense can approve of."—*Lit. Anec.* vol. v. p. 421.

an enlightened and tranquil age. In some respects, perhaps, there is no modern church which, for preachers and writers, can be compared with that of England. The Roman Catholics, indeed, have sermons of sublime eloquence on the general doctrines of repentance, charity, and a world to come; but they dare not enter with freedom into any discussion, which might offend the jealous infallibility of their head. The Calvinists, on the other hand, do not hold out rewards for abilities, of equal value with those of the English church. Indeed, good and constant preaching is accounted of more importance among the duties of our clergymen than among those of any other religious body. We have seen that in the eighteenth century the tone of clerical discourses was greatly altered. A polite age, which saw the end of the long civil war between the Stuarts and the nation, required a new kind of spiritual food. The most popular teachers dwelt not so much on the awful mysteries of religion, as on its general conformity to the course and constitution of nature. They combined, in the support of Christianity, the moral researches of the ancient pagans, with the new physical discoveries of modern mathematicians. Nor was this tendency confined to Hoadly and a few of his followers. All the chief divines of this age, Butler, Jortin, Warburton, shew a willingness to appeal to reason, which had not been seen during the impassioned contests of former ages.

The general body of the people, however, were not sufficiently advanced in knowledge, nor sufficiently refined in taste, to be worthy of the delicate banquet that was set before them. All the histories of this age teem with complaints of the gross profligacy, the drunkenness, dis-

order, and forgetfulness of religion, exhibited by the common people, especially in large towns, amidst the hurry and excitement of increasing trade and flourishing industry. It has been already said, that the superior education and decent fortune of the English clergy have the attendant defect of unfitting them for a daily and familiar intercourse with their flocks. They are confined, too, by law, by habit, and by inclination, to the spot where their parochial or governing duties are to be performed, and are, therefore, quite incapable of being directed actively to convert, to guide, and to instruct, new masses of population. This polite age, like the first days of civilisation, wanted missionaries; and what is wanted by the spirit of the time seldom fails to appear. Missionaries sprang up.

The father of John Wesley was Samuel Wesley, a John Wesley. clergyman. He was once ordered to preach before King James the Second, and was told, that if he preached according to the king's wishes, he should have preferment. Instead of doing so, he delivered a sermon directly pointed at the designs of the court, taking for his text these words of the prophet Daniel: "*If it be so, our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king! But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.*" He afterwards wrote in defence of the revolution, and was rewarded with the living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. After some years, he discovered that his wife never said "Amen" to the prayers for King William; and finding the reason of it to be that she did not believe William to be lawful king, he vowed

never to cohabit with her till she did. Fortunately for them, the king died a year afterwards. John Wesley, born on the 17th June, 1703, was their first child after the separation.

The mother of John Wesley, whose maiden name was Annesley, was a woman of a very strong mind, and very fervent piety. She was particularly careful to give all her children (they were eight in number) a religious education, but she took more pains with John than with any of the rest; a narrow escape from being burnt to death, when he was a child, made her look upon him as preserved by the special favour of Providence. He was sent to the Charter House, and afterwards to Oxford. During his stay at the university he consulted his mother on the very rigid doctrines of abstinence from pleasure, which he found in the celebrated work, *De Imitatione Christi*. "I cannot think," he wrote, "that when God sent us into the world, he had irrevocably decreed that we should be perpetually miserable in it. If our taking up the cross imply our bidding adieu to all joy and satisfaction, how is it reconcilable with what Solomon expressly affirms of religion, that *her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace?*" His mother gave him this sound and discriminating reply: "Would you judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of pleasure, take this rule: whatever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things; in short, whatever increases the strength and authority of your body over your mind, that thing is sin to you, however innocent it may be in itself." Young Wesley was startled at that

part of the articles of the church, in which Calvinism seems to predominate. "As I understand faith," he argued, "to be an assent to any truth upon rational grounds, I do not think it possible, without perjury, to swear I believe any thing, unless I have reasonable grounds for my persuasion. Now that which contradicts reason cannot be said to stand upon reasonable grounds, and such, undoubtedly, is every proposition which is incompatible with the divine justice or mercy. What, then, shall I say of predestination? If it was inevitably decreed from eternity, that a determinate part of mankind should be saved, and none beside them, a vast majority of the world were only born to eternal death, without so much as a possibility of avoiding it. How is this consistent with either the divine justice or mercy? Is it merciful to ordain a creature to everlasting misery? Is it just to punish man for crimes which he could not but commit?" His mother agreed with him in abhorring the doctrine of predestination, which, however, she said, was by no means the doctrine of the church. But she wondered why men would amuse themselves with searching into the decrees of God, which no human art could fathom, and not rather employ their time and powers in making their own election sure. Thus sensibly thought and counselled this excellent mother.

Wesley's disposition was much affected by these studies; he communicated every week, and prayed for inward holiness. In 1725 he was ordained, and in the following year elected fellow of Lincoln college. He now resolved, he says, "to have acquaintance, not by chance, but by choice, and to choose such only as he had reason to believe would

help him on his way to heaven." A person whom he travelled many miles to see, on account of his reputed piety, said to him, "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember you cannot serve him alone: you must therefore *find* companions, or *make* them: the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." Wesley kept this counsel steadily in view. He was placed at the head of a religious society at Oxford, who were called by the rest Sacramentarians, Bible-bigots, the Holy Club, and lastly, Methodists, after an ancient school of physicians known by that name. Charles Wesley, the brother of John, was one of the founders of this society: he had from his boyhood been adopted by an Irish gentleman of the name of Wesley, who meant to make him his heir. But Charles declining to go to Ireland, the property was inherited by a person who, taking the name of Wesley, afterwards became Earl of Mornington, and was grandfather of the Duke of Wellington.

Among the associates of Wesley were Hervey, the author of the *Meditations*, and George Whitefield, who was destined to be one of the great apostles of Methodism. He was the son of an innkeeper at Gloucester; and having shewn great inclination for study, his mother sent him from the occupation of a common drawer to be a servitor at Oxford. His admiration for and sympathy with the methodists brought him into their society. Wesley now became acquainted with William Law, the author of the *Serious Call*; to whom he offered a doubt whether his views of Christian duty were not too elevated to be attainable; Law replied, "We shall do well to aim at the highest

degrees of perfection, if we may thereby at least attain mediocrity." The pupil was satisfied; indeed he probably proposed this difficulty solely with a view to have it removed. That the solution is a complete one, may be doubted; Wesley himself soon shewed to what dangers the pursuit of perfection may lead. He adopted habits of austerity with such disregard of health, that it seemed as if he were eager for death. This severity led to spitting of blood, and at length to the breaking of a blood-vessel: he put himself under the care of medical men, and, having a sound constitution, recovered. His father, whose health was declining, earnestly desired his son John might obtain his living, that his wife and daughters might not lose their home, nor the parish fall into the hands of an idle or lukewarm incumbent. But these motives had no influence with John Wesley. As to his mother and sisters, he was too earnest for his own salvation to think about them. With regard to the parish, when his father urged that the labours of forty years in God's vineyard would be lost, and its fences trodden down, if "a mighty Nimrod," whom he named, should have the living; setting before him, at the same time, the plenteousness of the harvest, consisting of near two thousand souls; the young divine replied, that he dreaded the company of good sort of men, lukewarm Christians, who stole from him the little fervour he had; and as for the two thousand souls, he did not see how any man living could take care of a hundred. His father died not long afterwards; his mother and sisters were left with little or no provision, and the cattle in the fields were seized, on the very day of Mr. Wesley's funeral, for a debt of fifteen pounds.

Although John Wesley had shrunk from the task of taking the cure of two thousand souls, with the advantage of helping his aged parent in her distress, his ambitious spirit was tempted by the proposal of a mission to Georgia, to preach to the settlers and convert the Indians. His noble-minded mother, when asked for a consent, answered, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more."

1735.

Wesley embarked at Gravesend on the 14th of October, 1735. The vessel in which he went carried out twenty-six Moravians, on their way to join a party of their brethren from Herrnhut, who had gone the year before. During the voyage, he began to practise greater austerities than he had before been used to, slept on the floor of his cabin, left off flesh and wine, and at length confined himself to bread and water. He wrote, at the same time, to his brother Samuel, advising him to banish from his school the classics which were usually read there, and introduce Christian authors in their place.

The colony of Georgia had at this time been founded only three years, and consisted of a very small number of persons. Instead of uniting all these in a common bond of Christian charity, Wesley, by making the yoke of religion heavy, disgusted the greater part of his flock. For a time, indeed, he had some success. By means of a sermon upon dress, he induced the ladies to appear in plain linen or woollen, and by going bare-legged into school, he taught the boys not to be vain, as they were before, of the distinction of shoes and stockings. But in other matters his want of judgement led to total failure. He insisted upon immersion in baptism, and refused to

baptise the children when the parents feared the danger of this method. Some persons he would not receive as sponsors, because they were not communicants; another he would not admit to the communion because he was a dissenter. In this manner he contrived to sow discord in the new colony; and Mr. Oglethorpe, the founder and chief governor of the colony, harassed and weary, exclaimed, that it was much easier to govern a thousand persons than three-score.

The niece of the chief magistrate at Savannah, Sophia Causton by name, a woman of fine person and cultivated mind, wished to reclaim Wesley from his peculiar opinions, and make him her husband. Wesley was much moved by her attentions to him, but perceived that her compliance with his precepts was not sincere, and in much perplexity referred the question of marriage to the Moravian brethren. Upon their decision in the negative, Wesley gave up an inclination which was far from being a weak one. So far good. But upon Sophia Causton's marrying another person, he took occasion, from a defect in form, to refuse her the sacrament. The colony was in an uproar. A warrant was issued against him for defamation; the grand jury, at the instigation of the lady's uncle, found a true bill; and his only method of escaping from this scene of malice and confusion, was to embark and return to England. Instead of promoting the Christian charity he was brought to teach, he had nearly destroyed religion in the colony; seldom more than half-a-dozen persons attending the public prayers.*

* Southey, p. 100.

His reflections during the voyage were of a singular, and by no means a comfortable kind. "Whoever sees me," he writes in his diary, "sees I *would* be a Christian. Therefore *are my ways not like other men's ways*; therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, *a byword, a proverb of reproach*. But in a storm, I think, What if the Gospel be not true? Then thou art of all men the most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandering over the face of the earth? a dream? *a cunningly devised fable*? Oh, who will deliver me from this fear of death?" &c. An unbeliever falls upon his knees to God in a time of danger; Wesley, habitually pious, doubted, in these moments, the truth of his religion. Nor, perhaps, is this wonderful: the fear of death suggests the possibility of a future which is not present to the mind in its usual and settled state.

When Wesley returned to England, imperfect in his creed, and sensible of his deficiency, he found that his companion, Whitefield, had made great progress in the dissemination of methodism. Whitefield had not a logical understanding, but he was of an ardent nature, the master of a burning eloquence, and had prepared himself for his mission by austerities equal to those practised by the saints and founders of orders in the Roman Catholic church. He chose the worst food, wore a patched gown, with dirty shoes, and during Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays, lived entirely on coarse bread and sage tea. He exposed himself to cold till his hands were black, and would kneel in Christ Church Walk at night, in silent prayer, till the

great bell summoned him to college. "Whenever I knelt down," he says, "I felt great pressures both on soul and body, and have often prayed under the weight of them till the sweat came through me. Whole days and weeks have I spent in lying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer." His fervour was accompanied by raptures similar to those described by the eloquence of Saint Theresa. In reading a treatise, wherein he found it asserted that true religion is the union of the soul with Christ, a ray of divine light, he says, instantaneously burst upon him, and from that moment he felt he must be a new creature. After an illness, he writes: "About the end of the seventh week, after having undergone innumerable buffetings of Satan, and many months' inexpressible trials, by night and day, under the spirit of bondage, God was pleased at length to remove the heavy load; to enable me to lay hold on his dear Son by a living faith; and by giving me the spirit of adoption, to seal me, as I humbly hope, even to the day of everlasting redemption. But, oh! with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full of and big with glory, was my soul filled when the weight of sin went off, and an abiding sense of the pardoning love of God, and a full assurance of faith, broke in upon my disconsolate soul!... At first my joys were like a spring-tide, and, as it were, overflowed the banks. Go where I would, I could not avoid the singing of psalms almost aloud," &c. Such has been the spirit of enthusiasm in all times.

While Wesley, therefore, was still retained by his reasoning and apprehensive mind in the forms of the Christian

church to which he belonged, Whitefield, all feeling, had already preached the doctrine of the new birth. His sermons were followed by immense crowds, wherever he went. At Bristol, especially, such numbers resorted to the church, that some hung upon the rails of the organ-loft, and others climbed upon the leads; multitudes, after the sermon, followed him home weeping. A like popularity attended him in London: above a thousand pounds were collected for charity children by his preaching: people stopt him in the aisles of the church and embraced him. In the midst of this flood of success, he determined to follow the Wesleys to Georgia.

The church of England looked upon Whitefield as the church of Rome is apt to look on a too zealous teacher of the faith. When he waited on the Bishop of London and asked for a license, the bishop evaded the question, by saying, that as he was going to Georgia, he needed none. Doubtless, the bishop rejoiced at the prospect of his speedy removal; but his hopes were so far frustrated, that the same day on which Whitefield sailed, Wesley landed from America. On this occasion, Wesley had resort to a practice which he used whenever he was in doubt. He opened a Bible, and took the first passage he read for an oracle of God. In this instance he found a text which induced him to send a paper to Whitefield, with these words, "Let him return to London." But Whitefield, who did not happen to believe in this superstition, and was already in the offing, proceeded on his voyage.

As yet, however, Wesley's notions were far from settled; and it may be said, that his religion was still to make.

By means of Peter Böhler, a Moravian, he was convinced that he wanted "that faith, whereby alone we are saved." On looking into Scripture, he was astonished to find that the conversions there mentioned were nearly all instantaneous. He began at this time to pray with or without form, as the occasion prompted. He laboured, whether alone, with Böhler, or in religious society, to obtain that consciousness of a new birth which he supposed necessary to salvation. A society of about fifty persons united themselves, and drew up rules for their guidance, which afterwards became the laws of the Methodists. Hence Warburton takes occasion to say, "Mr. William Law begat Methodism; Count Zinzendorff rocked the cradle."

At length happened the long-expected conversion. On the 24th of May, "about a quarter before nine, while I was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed: I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death." Yet still, such was the coldness of his temper, that he felt none of the rapturous joy with which this assurance of eternal bliss was accompanied in warmer natures. "The enemy suggested, this cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?"

Wesley, however, was not slow in proclaiming his regeneration. A family of the name of Hutton kindly lodged him in their house whenever he came to London. After sermon, one Sunday evening, he stood up, and assured the family and their guests that he had never been a

Christian till within the last five days; and that the only way for them to become Christians was to confess that they were not so now. He repeated the assertion at supper, and said, that "when we had renounced every thing but faith, and then got into Christ, then, and not till then, had we any reason to believe we were Christians." Mr. Hutton asked why, in that case, our Saviour gave his sermon on the mount? "That," said Wesley, "is the letter that killeth." "Hold!" cried Mr. Hutton, "you seem not to know what you say; are our Lord's words the letter that killeth?" Such is the confusion made in a strong understanding by the abuse of one part of Scripture, and the exclusion of the rest.

Samuel Wesley, a good and religious man, was heartily grieved at the turn which his brother had taken. He writes to Mr. Hutton, "I pleased myself with the expectation of seeing Jack; but now that is over, and I am afraid of it. I heartily pray God to stop the progress of this lunacy."

Among the pious labours to which Wesley, when in England, had always devoted much of his time, was that of visiting the prisons. After his conversion he continued this practice; but his doctrine had the effect of so firmly assuring the condemned criminals of their eternal salvation, that he gave offence to more sober Christians. At Bedlam his efforts could hardly be mischievous; however, he was at one time forbidden to enter either Newgate or Bedlam. He said, "We are not allowed to go to Newgate, for fear we should make the prisoners criminals; nor to Bedlam, for fear we should drive them mad."

At this time Wesley made a journey to Germany, to confer with the Moravians. He returned much strengthened in his opinions; but not altogether approving of their conduct, and especially their extreme deference to Count Zinzendorff. His censures were expressed by himself in a letter to the Moravian brethren; and, indeed, it seems to have been his custom, on all occasions, to blame, without any reserve, what he found amiss in the life of others. His brother Samuel and his sister-in-law fell in this way under his lash. In Wesley this obtrusion of advice and reproach were partly owing to a simplicity in his nature, which made him believe that when once informed of their faults, his neighbours would be happy to have the opportunity of correcting them; and partly to the arrogance which belongs to all his sect. Believing that they have the authority of God himself in their favour, they look down upon men of all other persuasions as sunk in error and subjugated by sin.

Wesley's difference with the Moravians led to a formal separation. He read a paper to the society in Fetter Lane, condemning the Moravian doctrine, and then withdrew, followed by nineteen of the society. He had some months before taken a building, which had been formerly the king's foundry for cannon: here he now established the throne of Methodism.

Having brought Wesley to this period of his life, the remaining space which can be allotted to this subject shall be given to the chief circumstances which attended his progress; the causes of his success and that of Whitefield; and the nature of the sect which he founded.

I. Those whom Wesley converted, after various inward

struggles, which they called experiences, and attributed to a contest between the powers of good and evil, were at length blest with a sudden impression that they were regenerate, and free from the dominion of sin. Such only were called by him Christians. "By a Christian," says Wesley, "I mean one who so believes in Christ, as that sin hath no more dominion over him; and in this obvious sense of the word, I was not a Christian till May the 24th last past. For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it continually; but surely, then, from that time to this it hath not; such is the free grace of God in Christ." Wesley, however, not being of a very warm and excitable nature, had neither the agonies nor the joys which attended the process of obtaining faith among the greater part of his converts. These agonies became a kind of bodily disease, and the persons affected by them suffered convulsions, such as have been seen in fanatics of all religions, and such as in our time have been produced, and are still produced, by the delusion called animal magnetism. Wesley gives an account of a woman who was "above measure enraged at the new way," but whom nevertheless he persuaded to kneel down and join in prayer with him. "In a few minutes she fell into an extreme agony both of body and soul, and soon after cried out, with the utmost earnestness, 'Now I know that I am forgiven for Christ's sake!'" One day that Wesley was preaching at Bristol, some of the persons present "called upon God to confirm his word." Immediately one of the congregation cried out aloud, as if in the agonies of death; but upon their continuing in prayer, she burst out in thanksgiving to God. Two other persons

presently began to roar, and likewise finished with praise and thanksgiving. When preaching at Newgate, Wesley called upon God to bear witness to his word. "Immediately one, and another, and another, sunk to the earth; they dropt on every side, as thunderstruck." A physician, who suspected fraud, was led to examine these appearances in a woman with whom he had been acquainted many years. She cried aloud and wept. He went and stood close by her, and observed her, "till great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook." When thoroughly convinced there was no fraud, he was surprised to see her healed in a moment. A Quaker, who inveighed against the Methodists, attending one of their meetings, dropt down as if struck by lightning. After a terrible agony, he lifted up his head, and cried aloud, "Now I know thou art a prophet of the Lord." Soon a new symptom was produced. The unhappy patients fancied themselves tormented by Satan, and uttered all kinds of blasphemy and imprecation. A woman, in one of these frenzies, called out, "I am damned, damned; lost for ever! Six days ago you might have helped me; but it is past — I am the devil's now — I have given myself to him — his I am — him I must serve — with him I must go to hell — I will be his — I will serve him — I will go with him to hell — I cannot be saved — I will not be saved — I must, I will, I will be damned!" With much more equally absurd and raving. At length, as Wesley says, "God, in a moment, spoke peace unto the soul;" that is, when nature was exhausted with such violent efforts, these lunatics sunk down, and upon recovering, finding themselves weak and

calm, were told they were in a state of grace. In time Wesley discovered that many of these frenzies were mere tricks. "A girl, as she began to cry," he has himself recorded, "I ordered to be carried out: her convulsions were so violent as to take away the use of her limbs, till they laid her without at the door, and left her; when she immediately found her legs and walked off. Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me, and tried who could cry loudest, since I have had them removed out of my sight, have been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here, half my words were lost through the noise of their outcries; last night, before I began, I gave public notice, that whosoever cried so as to drown my voice, should, without any man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the furthest corner of the room: but my porters had no employment the whole night."

The transports of joy were no less excessive than the agonies; and the man who sometimes had the good sense to defeat imposture, could approve such extravagance as the following, contained in the narrative of a girl in her twentieth year, who after passing through the labour, thus describes the joy of the new birth: "Oh, mighty, powerful, happy change! The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there with pains so violent, yet so very ravishing, that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved; the Spirit cried strong in my heart; I sweated; I trembled; I fainted; I sang; my soul was got up into the holy mount; I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body; I, who not long before had called to the rocks to fall on me, and the mountains to cover me, could

now call for nothing else but, *Come, Lord Jesus! come quickly!* Oh, I thought my head was a fountain of water! I was dissolved in love; *My beloved is mine, and I am his;* he has all charms; he has ravished my heart; he is now in his garden, feeding among the lilies! *Oh, I am sick of love!* he is altogether lovely, *the chiefest among ten thousand!* Oh, how Jesus fills, Jesus extends, Jesus overwhelms the soul in which he dwells!" Such rhapsodies as these, so inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, are to be found not unfrequently in the history of the Roman Catholic church; those who uttered them were either canonised for saints, or burnt at the stake for heretics, as the fashion of the time, or the humour of a great inquisitor, or the interest of the clergy, directed. In England they helped the progress of a dissenting teacher.

With the people the success of the Methodists became every day more striking. One Sunday, when Whitefield was preaching at Bermondsey, near a thousand people stood in the churchyard. This put into his head a notion of preaching out of doors; which he first carried into execution in a wild part of the country near Bristol, called Kingswood, inhabited by a race of colliers, ignorant of religion, of brutal manners, and uncouth dialect. On February 17, 1739, Whitefield preached from his first field-pulpit. The attempt had no great success; but the churches at Bristol being shut against him, he renewed his experiment, and his second congregation amounted to about two thousand persons. From this the numbers went on increasing till they reached twenty thousand persons. Wesley could scarce reconcile himself to this

“strange way;” however, he adopted it at Bristol, after observing, that our Lord’s sermon on the mount was “one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching.” Whitefield next carried this practice to London; he began at Moorfields, but his usual station on week-days was Kennington Common, where he saw sometimes assembled fourscore carriages, very many horsemen, and from thirty to forty thousand persons on foot. This number is probably an exaggeration.

The days of a great change in religion seemed to have arrived, and the established church hardly knew what to think. However, in the tolerant spirit of the age, they disappointed the hopes of Whitefield, who ardently longed for martyrdom; and, satisfied with quietly discouraging Methodism, took no public step to oppose it. The Methodists, therefore, are a rare example of a sect who have flourished without persecution. True it is, certainly, that Wesley was more than once in danger of his life from a mob, and was rescued from injury chiefly by his own firmness. But whatever may have been the criminal apathy of some country magistrates, the government seem to have been uniform in the orders they gave to protect the new sect against all illegal violence.

Wesley was bold enough to believe that miracles were worked in behalf of his religion and of himself. He tells us in his journal, that he visited one night a believer who was not expected to live till morning: he had lost his speech and his senses; Wesley and his companions prayed; the man’s speech and senses were restored. “Now, he that will account for this by natural causes has my free

leave ; but I choose to say this is the power of God." In the same manner, he was himself cured instantaneously of a fever and a toothach ; nay, his horse partook of the benefit of his prayers. " My horse was so exceedingly lame, that I was afraid I must have lain by. By riding thus seven miles I was thoroughly tired, and my head ached more than it had done for some months. I then thought, ' Cannot God heal either man or beast, by any means, or without any ? ' Immediately my weariness and headach ceased, and my horse's lameness in the same instant. Nor did he halt any more either that day or the next."

II. Wesley had hitherto succeeded, because, in a dead and motionless state of society, he who, with internal persuasion of their truth, rouses the attention of men to new doctrines, which he declares to be necessary to eternal salvation, has always a temporary success. But while he and Whitefield were nearly equal as popular preachers, he gave a proof of his real capacity to lead mankind, by the plausible arguments with which he guarded every excess of doctrine or practice ; his expertness with the shield was not less than his vigour with the sword. His talents were, above all, made conspicuous by the form which he gave to his sect, and the legislation of which he was the author. The whole society was to be governed by an undefined number of preachers, who were to meet every year at his summons in an assembly called the Conference. Money was collected in each separate congregation, and placed in the hands of stewards appointed by himself. A certain number of laymen, called helpers, likewise appointed by himself, had authority to preach ; but he had the power of dismissing whom he

pleased. The time of probation for these helpers was fixed at four years. The rules given for their direction are characteristic of Wesley: "Speak evil of no one; keep your thoughts within your own breast till you come to the person concerned; tell every one what you think wrong in him, and that plainly; be ashamed of nothing but sin; not of cleaning your own shoes or your neighbour's. Be punctual; do every thing exactly at the time; and in general do not *mend* our rules but *keep* them. You have nothing to do but to save souls: therefore, spend and be spent in this work." With such rules he founded not a religious order whose discipline acts only in the retirement of the cloister; not a rich church whose worldly possessions form the chief object of their care; but a community of active teachers, spread into every corner of society, whose power and distinction rested solely on the efficacy of religious persuasion.

The preachers were kept under the most vigilant inspection. "Do you eat no flesh suppers? No late suppers? Do you take no more food than is necessary at each meal? Do you drink water? Why not? How often do you drink wine or ale? Every day? Do you *want* or *wish* it?" This examination was a substitute for the rules of a monastic order. The preachers were frequently changed, and at first did not stay more than six or eight weeks in one place. Thus, the attention of the people was continually kept alive, and the preachers retained in perpetual dependence on the governing body of the society. The chapels, built by subscription, were for similar reasons vested in Wesley and the Conference. If a chapel was at

any time vested in trustees, he made the deed be cancelled, knowing that trustees who had power to displace a preacher would greatly limit his authority. No preacher was to preach more than three times on the Sabbath, and twice on a week day; the service altogether did not last more than one hour. Wesley discouraged long preaching and too great exertion of voice. "I often speak loud, often vehemently," he said; "but I never scream." Excellent singing was heard at Wesleyan meetings; the hymns were all chosen with great care, or written by his brother Charles.

Besides the regular ministers, there were local preachers, who carried on their usual business on week days, and preached on the Sunday. From this station the assistants or itinerant preachers were chosen. The Methodists were divided into classes; over every class was a leader, who collected subscriptions, kept a journal of their meetings, and in the class-paper gave a detailed account to the assistant of every individual. A class-ticket, renewed every quarter, furnished a census of the society. Every year the whole society made a covenant with God, which all signed, some with their blood. The classes were divided into bands of five or six persons of the same sex; each member upon entrance was asked these startling questions: "Consider, do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you? Do you desire that in doing this we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom? Is it your desire and design to be on this, and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to

“speak every thing that is in your heart, without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?” Four questions were always put, “What known sin have you committed since our last meeting? What temptations have you met with? How were you delivered? What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?” And if this was not sufficient, each person was asked “as searching questions as may be” concerning their state, sin, and temptations. This practice, while it seems to keep closer to the text, “Confess ye one to another,” than the popish confession, has one inconvenience beyond it. The private frailties of women are kept secret under the sacred seal of confession; but the members of a methodist band, although generally discreet, are not always so. Wesley himself has recorded, that a married woman, having mentioned in band that she had a temptation toward a man she named, some one of the band told her husband, who, after a frenzy of jealousy, ended with saying to her, “I do thoroughly forgive you; but I can never love you more.” “It is marvellous,” observes the able biographer of Wesley, “that any man should have permitted his wife or his daughter to enter into these bands, where it is not possible for innocence to escape contamination.”* Indeed, in many instances, the confession must act as an excitement to the commission or repetition of sin. A licentious novel is often nothing more than the narrative of repentant frailty. Besides the confession, there were other usages of the band meeting of a dangerous tendency. The hymns

* Southey's Life of Wesley.

and prayers are of as melting and warming a nature as they can with any propriety adopt; and when they are not sufficient for their taste, auxiliary stanzas are used of the most luscious and enthusiastic kind.* These are not encouraged, however, by the more sober part of the society.

Another most dangerous institution was the watch-night, a custom similar to one which used to prevail in earlier days among some Christians, and which was abandoned on account of the licentiousness to which it gave rise. A third objectionable practice was that of holding three love-feasts every quarter, one for the men, one for the women, and one for both together. Experiences were related; any reserve on this head was considered as quenching the Spirit of God; and the younger females had frequently a most painful combat to sustain between natural modesty and religious duty. These meetings often broke into confusion.

III. It may now be asked, for what purpose was framed this admirable machinery, so well adapted to ensure the permanence, and preserve the subordination of a religious society? In nearly all, if not in all his theological opinions, Wesley adhered to the church. He differed neither upon the Trinity, nor any other great point of doctrine; he openly quarrelled with Whitefield for adopting predestination, and he seems to have had no objection, in theory at least, to the government and discipline of the national church. But he had this peculiarity; he fixed on a particular part of the Scriptures, gave it a new sense, and preached that part, if not to the exclusion of, yet in high

* Nightingale, p. 193.

dominion over all the rest. Fortunately, an historian is not obliged to enter the labyrinth of theological controversy. Wesley, who was a skilful logician, protected his doctrines, in his mature age, with so many qualifications and limitations, that the strength of the outworks covers the weakness of the original fortress. But waving the nicety of dispute, it is our business to inquire in what manner the establishment of his sect affected the lives and conduct of men.

Wesley's main doctrines may be comprised under the words Justification, Sanctification, and Christian Perfection. Justification is another word for pardon. It is the forgiveness of all our sins, and, what is necessarily implied therein, our acceptance with God. Sanctification is the working of the Spirit of God *in us*. This is properly the new birth. The soul, being dead by the fall of Adam, is born again when we are justified, and in that very moment sanctification begins. This conversion took place, in the opinion of Wesley, in most cases instantaneously. He carefully warned his disciples not to rely on any preparation of their own. "Expect it *by faith*, expect it *as you are*, expect it *now*. Say not, 'I cannot be accepted yet, because I am not good enough.' Who is good enough, who ever was, to merit acceptance at God's hands? Say not, 'I am not contrite enough: I am not sensible enough of my sins.' I know it. I would to God thou wert more sensible of them, and more contrite a thousand fold than thou art! But do not stay for this. It may be God will make thee so; not before thou believest, but by believing. It may be thou wilt not weep much till thou lovest much, because thou hast had much forgiven."

The state of those who had attained this belief is described with a power of expression and a glow of fancy well adapted to rivet attention. "A man may assent to three, or three-and-twenty creeds: he may assent to all the Old and New Testament (at least as far as he understands them), and yet have no Christian faith at all. The faith by which the promise is attained is represented by Christianity as a power wrought by the Almighty in an immortal spirit, inhabiting a house of clay, to see through that veil into the world of spirits, into things invisible and eternal: a power to discern those things which, with eyes of flesh and blood, no man hath seen or can see; either by reason of their nature, which (though they surround us on every side) is not perceivable by these gross senses; or by reason of their distance, as being yet afar off in the bosom of eternity. It sheweth what eye hath not seen, neither could it before enter into our heart to conceive; and all this in the clearest light, with the fullest certainty and evidence. For it does not leave us to receive our notice by mere reflection from the dull glass of sense, but resolves a thousand enigmas of the highest concern, by giving faculties suited to things invisible. It is the eye of the new-born soul, whereby every true believer 'seeth Him who is invisible.' It is the ear of the soul, whereby the sinner 'hears the voice of the Son of God and lives;' the palate of the soul (if the expression may be allowed), whereby a believer 'tastes the good word, and the powers of the world to come;' the feeling of the soul, whereby, 'through the power of the Highest overshadowing him,' he perceives the presence of Him in whom he lives, and

moves, and has his being, and feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart. It is the internal evidence of Christianity, a perpetual revelation, equally strong, equally new, through all the centuries which have elapsed since the incarnation, and passing now, even as it has done from the beginning, directly from God into the believing soul."

Those who were favoured with this direct, full, and individual communication with the Almighty, were, of course, in a state of certain hope: they had what Wesley called (though latterly he was not fond of the term) *assurance*; that is to say, they believed themselves to be at that time in a state of assured salvation. Every one that believes is sanctified, whatever else he has or has not. "Whosoever thou art, O man, who hast the sentence of death in thyself, unto thee saith the Lord, not, 'Do this, perfectly obey all my commands, and live;' but, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'"

The doctrine of assurance led to that of Christian perfection. The word perfection he explained to be the being perfected in love. Wesley was very fond of this doctrine. He even instituted a select band, or society, to consist of persons who continually walked in the light of God, having fellowship with the Father and the Son. To these he unbosomed himself without reserve, and proposed them to all their brethren as patterns of love, of holiness, and of all good works; a stretch of power and confidence which seems rather to belong to the history of an Arabian prophet than to that of English Christianity.

Upon a view of this scheme, the first thing that occurs

is its wide departure from the manners of that church which it professes to improve and to restore. That the conversion of Jews and heathens, who had hitherto lived in the twilight of form or the darkness of idolatry, to the sublime doctrines of Jesus Christ, should, by a strong metaphor, be called in Scripture a new birth, is no more than might be expected from the glowing and figurative language of the sacred records. But when the dogma of instantaneous conversion and sudden sanctification is adopted in a country where law, property, and opinion, all combine in support of Christianity, the whole system of established religion must be put aside; if no one is a Christian till he is blest with a vision of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, what becomes of baptism, confirmation, and the whole system of discipline prescribed and practised by the church? That the doctrine of Wesley on this subject set the church at nought, is apparent from many instances; among others, the epitaph upon his mother, long the wife of an excellent clergyman, herself pious and learned beyond most of her sex, which records that she mourned "a legal night of seventy years." So that the most entire belief in all that the church of England teaches, and the performance of all that the church of England enjoins, does not even entitle a person to be called a Christian.

The next observation which naturally strikes us, is, that the Wesleyan doctrine, while it powerfully affects enthusiastic natures, and gives them the sensations of a new faith without apostasy from the old, is blunt and inefficient to men of a calm and sober temper. He, who quietly endeavours to frame his life according to the precepts of

Christ, may find himself unable to conceive the glowing raptures of a Methodist. For instance, when Wesley published his "Serious Thoughts on the Earthquake at Lisbon," an occasion which suited his dramatic purpose, Archbishop Herring writes to a friend: "I have read his 'Serious Thoughts;' but, for my part, I think the rising and setting of the sun is a more durable argument for religion than all the extraordinary convulsions of nature put together. For myself, I have no constitution for these frights and fervours."* Nothing can shew more clearly than this passage the difference between the orthodox church and Methodism. A dizzy drunkard, who would behold unmoved the rising of the sun, might be converted by the earthquake; but the man who adores God in all his operations, sees in the earthquake only one effect of his laws. Over a calm and pious temper, therefore, the gale of Methodism blows without effect. To a nervous and uncertain disposition, the consequence is far worse: a person of this temperament, if convinced by the arguments of Wesley, becomes an unhappy man; still more, if he is by nature melancholy, and inclines to the unfavourable side in human affairs. He grows uneasy and dispirited; looks anxiously for an assurance of pardon, which he is doomed never to feel, and passes his life in the gloom of religious despondence. Samuel Wesley put this case to his brother John, who thus replied: "Persons of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, even to some degree of madness, I have known in a moment brought (let it be called a miracle, I quarrel

* Archbishop Herring to Mr. Duncombe. *Gent. Mag.* vol. xlvii. p. 134.

not,) into a state of firm, lasting peace and joy." This might be the case during the first enthusiasm of a new faith, but can hardly be expected now. Accordingly, many of this persuasion are seen to mourn all their days. But what are we to think of a Christianity, from whose comforts and joys persons of sober temper or gloomy disposition are excluded?

Another objection to Methodism is the intolerance it is too apt to engender. Wesley himself, indeed, was, in great part, free from this sin; but it is impossible that common minds should bear with humility the intoxicating belief that they alone have a revelation from God, and that all but those whom they call believers are excluded from salvation. Hence their zeal (similar to that of the church of Rome) in making proselytes; hence their contempt for all human learning, and all human piety, which does not square with their own; hence their denunciations of the most innocent amusements of good and worthy men as the most deadly sin. Could the Methodists be invested, indeed, by some revolution, with the absolute power which Rome once possessed, there is reason to fear that, unless checked by the genius of a more humane age, the Conference would equal Rome itself in the spirit of persecution.

Another defect of Methodism is, that, by the confession of Wesley himself, it borders close on doctrines destructive of all morality. "The true gospel," he said, "touches the very edge both of Calvinism and Antinomianism, so that nothing but the mighty power of God can prevent our sliding either into the one or the other." "Many of his associates and followers," says his biographer, "fell into both." What Calvinism is, need not be explained; of Anti-

nomianism there is a brief description in one of Wesley's conferences. "Q. What is Antinomianism? A. The doctrine which makes void the law through faith. Q. What are the main pillars thereof? A. 1. That Christ abolished the moral law: 2. That, therefore, Christians are not obliged to observe it: 3. That one branch of Christian liberty is liberty from obeying the commandments of God: 4. That it is bondage to do a thing because it is commanded, or to forbear it because it is forbidden: 5. That a preacher ought not to exhort to good works; not unbelievers, because it is hurtful; not believers, because it is useless." Wesley himself, standing on the perilous edge of this doctrine, said, that the most destructive of those errors which Rome, the mother of abominations, had brought forth, is, that we are justified by works, or by faith and works. "But I do now testify to all," he continued, "that *no good works can be done before justification, none which have not in them the nature of sin.*"* Great was the mischief produced by the earnestness and frequency with which he dwelt upon a doctrine, so obscurely stated in the articles of our church, and so liable to be perverted by ignorance or licentiousness. Yet it is but fair to say, that no man ever exceeded Wesley in hostility to the doctrine of predestination. The best sermon he ever preached is on this subject;† and his perseverance in maintaining human liberty brought on a schism between him and the Calvinistic Methodists, who, led by Whitefield, and patronised

* Southey, vol. i. p. 288. Nightingale, p. 428.

† See an extract from this admirable discourse, Southey, vol. ii. p. 384, et seq.

by Lady Huntingdon, built chapels, and formed a community of their own.

Another very palpable offence of Methodism is the encouragement it affords to fraud and every species of cant. Wesley himself was superstitious and credulous to the greatest degree. If he recovered of a fever, or of a toothach, or if he passed between two showers in a mountainous country without being wet to the skin; if, in short, any thing went well with him that might have gone ill, he attributed it to the immediate interposition of the Almighty. Perhaps in all this he was very sincere, and did not seek thereby to augment the reverence paid to him, as a man inspired of God, which he held himself to be. But his successors and followers are not all equally disinterested. They multiply miracles far beyond the regular and limited practice of the Romish church. If a Methodist preacher wants a dinner, a suit of clothes, or a few pence to pay a turnpike, he puts up a prayer, and his want is miraculously supplied. Thus, between forgery and fanaticism, sober and genuine Christianity is utterly lost.

Let us, however, do justice to the intentions and the good deeds of Wesley. The main doctrine he taught was, in a few words, this: "You are born to sin, death, and eternal punishment: God has given his only Son for your redemption; believe in him, and be grateful for this immense benefit; the way to shew your gratitude is by holiness of life, which he has made indispensable to salvation. Perform good works, therefore, not as giving you any title or merit of your own, but as a proof of your love for God and Christ." It must be owned that this faith, if not carried to excess, is well adapted to elevate the soul and improve

the lives of men. The whole heart is brought in aid of the precepts of morality; natures, which nothing else could reach, may be reclaimed by the belief that a just and holy deportment are a due return to Him who has laid down his life to save us. As the foundation of all morality is gratitude; in souls, where every moral precept has been quenched, gratitude, the lamp of nature, still burns: a religion founded on gratitude, therefore, may touch the hardest bosoms. Hence the good produced by Methodism when it was first preached; the dissolute man became regular, the drunkard sober, and the people, who went away stiff in their sins from the service of the church, became as potter's clay in the hands of Wesley. "Multitudes of the vilest and most reprobate wretches," says an historian of Methodism, "were brought from a state bordering upon downright barbarism, to become sober, steady, useful members of society; the comfort of their families and friends; the praise and admiration of the wise and good; the distinguished ornaments of religion and virtue." *

But, alas! all things which are conducted by man, and especially religious creeds, are carried to excess. The Methodists grew vain of their peculiar sanctity; disputed with the world and with one another; and, in their search after an unattainable perfection, became infected with worse vices than their neighbours whom they despised. Wesley himself has recorded this melancholy result. Towards the end of his life, he says: "Truly, when I saw what God had done among his people between forty and

* Nightingale, p. 108.

fifty years ago, when I saw them warm in their first love, I could expect nothing less than that all these would have lived like angels here below; I looked to see '*a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people.*' But, instead of this, it brought forth error in ten thousand shapes. It brought forth enthusiasm, imaginary inspiration, ascribing to the all-wise God all the wild, absurd, self-inconsistent dreams of a heated imagination. It brought forth pride. It brought forth prejudice, evil surmising, censoriousness, judging and condemning one another: all totally subversive of that brotherly love which is the very badge of the Christian profession, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead before God. It brought forth anger, hatred, malice, revenge, and every evil word and work; all direful fruits, not of the Holy Spirit, but of the bottomless pit."

Let us here pause to reflect. Neither Wesley's nor any other scheme will ever produce in the mass of mankind what Wesley, in his enthusiasm, expected to see. Perfection is not a plant of earth. A good, meek, and charitable man may be rendered better, meeker, and more charitable by the Methodist faith. But for the generality, the bad passions which you dam up in one place will burst out in another, and probably with greater violence and more disastrous effects. If you prohibit the vanity of fine clothes and a fine equipage; the joyousness of convivial good-humour; the frivolous amusements of balls, and plays, and cards; if you proscribe a laugh, and ordain perpetual seriousness; if you make the week a week of toil, and the Sunday a day of sorrow, you will have the evil spirit break

forth in pride, arrogance, and malice: so that, while you shut up the posterns and defend the walls, the great gate itself is left open, and uncharitableness, the most anti-christian of all sins, marches in unopposed to take possession of the soul. The reproach of the Cavalier to the Roundhead may not unfairly be made by the High Church to Methodism.

Upon the whole, it can hardly be said that the introduction of Wesleyan Methodism permanently improved the morals of England. It resembled some very powerful drug, which suddenly obtains a reputation in physic, and is renowned for the wonderful cures which it performs; but presently the efficacy of the remedy ceases, and many of the cured either relapse, or fall into some new and incurable disease.

A quack medicine of this kind is soon famous, and soon forgotten. But Wesley was too able a head of a religious sect to permit his work to fall into decay. No man ever knew better how to govern the heart of man or woman; no one ever laboured more steadily in his vocation; no one ever wielded with greater power the weapons of reason in the cause of enthusiasm. His arguments, even when his cause seems most hopeless, are beautifully, though fallaciously, logical. With all his credulity and simplicity, he had the spirit to act with promptitude and firmness. Among a sect with whom enthusiasm was a rule, and poverty a condition of power, there were frequent attempts at mutiny and separation; Wesley always took his resolution boldly, and in every case retained the main body in obedience. The length of his life was of the greatest

advantage to the permanence of his institutions. He retained, to extreme old age, the vigour of his mind, and to a great degree the activity of his body. Upon entering his seventy-second year, he recorded that he found just the same strength as he did thirty years before; that his sight was better, and his nerves firmer, than they were then; that he had none of the infirmities of old age, and had lost several of his youth. This he attributed, under the pleasure of God, to his constantly rising at four, his generally preaching at five in the morning, "one of the most healthy exercises in the world;" and his never travelling less, by sea and land, than 4500 miles in a year. He was exceedingly temperate in his diet, and so happy in the health of mind and body, that he never lost a night's sleep in his life. In his eightieth year, he blessed God, that he found no more infirmities than when he was in the flower of manhood. His complexion was still fresh; his eye quick, keen, and active; his pace and manner that of one who could not afford to lose a moment. His long white hair, bright as silver, and his band and cassock, which he wore in the streets, added to the venerable dignity of his appearance.

Upon entering his eighty-fifth year, he remarked that he did not run or walk so fast as he had done; and from this time he began to feel decay. In the beginning of 1791, he felt death approaching; and on the 2d of March of that year, he tranquilly expired, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Mr. Richardson, who had been one of his preachers almost thirty years, performed the funeral service. When he came to the words, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear *brother*," his voice changed, and he substituted the word

His death.

father. The congregation, who were shedding silent tears, caught the feeling, and burst into loud sobs.

It has been observed, that Methodism tends to intolerance. I shall conclude this account of its founder with two passages, which shew how far his own temper was from that want of charity, which condemns men on account of a difference in their conscientious or involuntary belief. One of his nephews, the son of his brother Charles, had embraced the Roman Catholic faith. Writing of him to his parents, John Wesley remarks how inaccurate is the usual expression, that he has changed his religion. "He has changed his *opinions* and *mode of worship*; but that is not *religion*: it is quite another thing.... What then is religion? It is happiness in God, or in the knowledge and love of God. Now, either he has this religion, or he has not: if he has, he will not finally perish, notwithstanding the absurd unscriptural opinions he has embraced, and the superstitious and idolatrous modes of worship. But these are so many shackles, which will greatly retard him in running the race that is set before him." This judgement on the Roman Catholic faith has the merit of being at once severe and not illiberal. In another place, speaking of the amazing difference between one born and bred up in a pious English family, and one born and bred among the Hottentots, he says, "Only we are sure the difference cannot be so great as to necessitate one to be good, or the other to be evil; to force one into everlasting glory, or the other into everlasting burnings. For, as a governor, the Almighty cannot possibly act according to his own mere sovereign will, but, as he has expressly told us, according to the invariable rules

both of justice and mercy. Whatsoever, therefore, it hath pleased Him to do of his sovereign pleasure as Creator, he will judge the world in righteousness, and every man therein according to the strictest justice. He will punish no man for doing any thing which he could not possibly avoid ; neither for omitting any thing which he could not possibly do."

With this "better opinion," as his biographer wisely calls it, of John Wesley, we may close the account of that extraordinary man. He had all the qualities of a founder of religion ; enthusiasm, ambition, love of mankind, power of persuasion, political decision, and those necessary ingredients of greatness, a contempt of toil and money. He sought the truth ; he endeavoured to improve mankind ; and if his doctrines were frequently inconsistent, or his moral labours inefficacious, *magnis tamen excidit ausis*.

The church of England bore the separation of Wesley with meekness and forbearance. In the early part of his career, Archbishop Potter gave him this excellent advice : "If you desire to be extensively useful, do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature ; but in testifying against open, notorious vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness." Some time afterwards, one of the bishops being asked by his clergy what could be done to stop these new preachers, replied, "If they preach contrary to Scripture, confute them by Scripture ; if contrary to reason, confute them by reason. But beware you use no other weapons than these, either in opposing error, or defending the truth."

The Wesleyans have increased in number, and now amount to upwards of a million of persons, besides many who still keep strictly within the pale of the church.

Such was the state of religion in England during the first half of the eighteenth century. Infidelity, repulsed at every point, had no retreat but among a small portion of the higher orders. The church, moderate and tranquil, advanced to the full extent of a reasonable age, persecuted no one, and was respected of all. Wesley carried the sense of religion to those bosoms in which the love of God cannot enter but with agonies and transports.

I wish I had room to notice Lardner, Doddridge, Watts, Leland, and other eminent dissenters. But the reader is probably satisfied with what he has read on the subject of religion. Let it suffice to say, then, that these learned and good men laboured in the cause of Christianity with no less force or effect than their most eminent brethren of the church; that Lardner especially, in his great work on the Credibility of the Gospel History, has illustrated its truth with a copiousness and research never exceeded; that these chiefs of the dissenting body lived in great harmony with the most distinguished of the bishops; and that where they differed, it was only when the dissenters argued for a more complete liberty, both in civil matters, and for the publication of opinions.* Such were the religious fruits of the freedom acquired at the revolution.

* See Lardner's preface to his Reply to Woolston, in the ninth volume of his Works, and the Correspondence to which it gave rise, in the first.

NOTES.

NOTE A. Page 213.

MR. WALPOLE, a veteran in the diplomacy of England, writes to a friend, about this period, in the following terms:—"But now, my dear friend, I apprehend that the principal object of the court of Vienna will be (leaving the low countries to be defended by the maritime powers) to distract, divide, and devour the Prussian dominions. Their pride, their vengeance, and, above all, their bigotry, will naturally lead them to destroy a Protestant power that has dared to offend them. It is true, the Protestant prince in whose hand this power is lodged, deserves to be chastised for the unworthy and perfidious use he has made of it. But I cannot wish to see that Protestant power destroyed; it may, in some time or other, fall into better and honester hands, and may thereby prove of singular advantage for preserving the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe. Hence it is that I have often wished to see a strict and lasting union, in peace and war, between the maritime powers and the house of Brandenburg, so as to make their own mutual defence of the Protestant religion and the balance of Europe a common cause between them; for the late long and expensive wars have so exhausted England and Holland, as to make it impossible for them to exert themselves, as they have formerly done, for these good ends, without a supplemental power, such as Brandenburg, taking a share in it, and bearing, by men and money, some part of the necessary charge.

"But can we, you will say, be allied with the houses of Austria and Brandenburg at the same time? I answer in the affirmative, because I believe the thing possible now; how long it may be so, exceeds my foresight to determine. Perhaps those two powers may, from the *amor sceleratus habendi*, or the lust of ambition, come to look upon their interests

to be so irreconcilable, that it will be scarcely possible to be well with them both. In such a case, we must choose which of the two it will be most prudent to adhere to; and, for my part, I should not once hesitate in the choice. I, perhaps, may be singular in my opinion here, but I know the court of Vienna too well, ever to expect the smallest spark of gratitude, generosity, or public spirit, in their transactions with us. Their conduct in this present war, which has been undertaken more in their own behalf than ours; the state of their troops, which are near 40,000 inferior to the number stipulated; the timorous and indifferent conduct of the troops thus deficient: all this makes me look about to see if there is any thing in the Queen of Hungary, except her fair face, that ought to make her the darling of the British nation and of the United Provinces."

NOTE B. Page 532.

Jortin, fonder of truth than of Plato, controverted some opinions of Warburton on the representations of the state of the dead, given by Homer and Virgil. Of this difference Warburton speaks, in a letter to Hurd, in the following acrimonious terms:—"I will be frank with you; next to the pleasure of seeing myself so finely praised, is the satisfaction I take in seeing Jortin mortified. I know to what degree it will do it. There was but one thing that I, in good earnestness, resented for its baseness, and grieved at for its meanness. It is where speaking of Libanius, he evidently insinuates that Julian was murdered by some Christians among his own soldiers. You know I have a large note in my Julian to refute that calumny; and at the conclusion of it I refer the determination to Jortin, in that compliment which the author of the seventh dissertation makes so fine a use of. And this is the *determination* that this amiable-minded man thinks fit to make on this occasion."* So that Warburton referred the determination to Jortin, in the full confidence that the decision he asked for would be in his favour; and when he found it went against him, could account for it in no other way but by imputing baseness and meanness to the arbiter. Elsewhere he speaks of the envy and malignity of Jortin; but the present instance may suffice to shew his extreme impatience of contradiction. With respect to a work published by an

* Warburton to Hurd. Dec. 21, 1755.

Irish bishop, Warburton thus writes:—“The Bishop of Clogher, or some such heathenish name in Ireland, has just published a book. It is made up out of the rubbish of old heresies. Thank God, our bishops are all far from making or reading heresies.”*

As to the Methodists, it is not necessary to quote passages to shew the contumely and bitter hatred with which Warburton treated them.

NOTE C. Page 546.

The charge against Middleton, of having borrowed the plan and much of the substance of his *Life of Cicero* from an obscure work of Bellendenus, must not be passed over. It was first made by Dr. Warton, in the following terms:—“It may be worth observing, that he is much indebted, without acknowledging it, to a curious book, little known, intituled, ‘G. Bellendeni, Scoti, de Tribus Luminibus Romanorum, libri 16; Parisiis, apud Tassanum du Bray, 1634,’ folio, dedicated to King Charles. It comprehends a History of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of Augustus, drawn up in the very words of Cicero, without any alteration of any expression. In this book Middleton found every part of Cicero’s own history in his own words, and his works arranged in chronological order, without farther trouble. The impression of this work being shipped for England, was lost in the vessel, which was cast away, and only a few copies remained, that had been left in France.”

This charge was readily listened to, and, without hesitation, adopted. Nor does any one seem to have given himself the trouble to verify the fact, till Dr. Parr, in his preface to Bellendenus, threw new and ample light on the matter, in a passage which the reader will, I am sure, thank me for quoting. “*Insedit profectò et penè inveteravit in animis eruditorum hæc opinio, Middletonum, cùm de Ciceronis vitâ opus scriberet, Bellendeni hisce è fontibus irrigasse hortulos suos. Ferunt etiam illum de industriâ, quò furtum suum melius celaret, nomen Bellendeni silentio jam tum prætermisisse, cùm varios, qui sibi aliquid adjumenti suppeditassent, scriptores, suo quemque ordine, recensere profiteretur.*

“*His ego rumusculis, cùm in Middletono laudando solerem multus esse, inter audiendum subirascebar. Ita enim semper animum induxi, ut*

* Warburton to Hurd. 1751.

de tanto viro cautè et modestè pronunciandum esse statuerim. Prætereà, haud nescius eram, quàm acris esse soleat doctorum invidia, quàm sint avidæ et capaces auriculæ indoctorum, quàm firma ad memoriam rerum levissimarum, et in calumniis propagandis veteratoria sint vapparum et nebulonum ingenia. Famam quippè videram incendere etiam convicia non credentium, quoties certamen factum esset inquinandi laudes eorum, qui artes infra se positas existimarentur prægravare. Causas igitur hujusce, quæ de Middletono incidisset, suspicionis, sæpenumerò sum et acerrimè perscrutatus; semperque sensi aquam hæere etiam illis, inter quos odium nominis Middletoniani glisceret vehementissimè. Ita profectò Caium suspicatum esse suspicabatur Titius. Ita se multis antè annis, aut legisse nescio quo libro, aut voces, ut fit, eruditorum subauscultando excepisse Sempronius credebat. Bellendeni verò librum qui vidissent, perpauco reperi: qui eum contulisset cum Middletoni opere (Wartonum si excipias) planè neminem. Hæc autem à me diligentissimè factâ collatione, res illicò omnis ad liquidum perducta est. Litteræ fuerunt Middletono, non vulgares hæ et quotidianæ, sed uberrimæ et maximè exquisitæ. Fuit iudicium subtile limatumque. Teretes et religiosæ fuerunt aures. Stylus est ejus ita purus ac suavis, ita salebris sine ullis profluens quiddam et canorum habet, numeros ut videatur complecti, quales in alio quopiam, præter Addisonum, frustrà quæsiveris. Animum fuisse ejusdem parùm candidum ac sincerum, id verò, fateor invitus, dolens, coactus. Equidem de fide hominis in rebus sacris, fastidiosius et acerbius loqui nolim. Permolestè autem fero, potuisse eum, qui ingenii tam acris elegantisque esset, laudibus Bellendenum meritis ac debitis privare. Fidentissimè enim confirmaverim, Middletonum non modò ex Bellendeni opere supellectilem sibi sublegisse satis lautam atque amplam, sed libri ipsius propè formam, quæ res ferret, adumbrâsse. Cùm in mediâ Cantabrigiæ luce viveret, suique operis instrumenta undique colligeret, ad manum habebat bibliothecas Cantabrigienses, libris eas quidem plurimis et exquisitissimis refertas. Qui autem 'Academicæ Bibliothecæ ordinandæ methodum quandam proposuisset' (Opera Middletoni, tom. iv.), ei, penè dixerim, in propatulo erant scripta ferè omnia Bellendeni. Quin Bellendeni ad hoc ipsum opus, etsi obscura sint omnia et occulta, respexisse illum tamen in præfatione suâ haud negaverim: in iis præsertim, quæ dixerit de 'temporum eorum historiâ, quam contexere esset cuivis integrum, qui Ciceronis Epistolas diligenter evolvisset: de tædio, quod in Cicerone bis terque legendo, ipse, si Diis

placet, solus devorâset: de curâ, quam in condendo et componendo, quæ posset mox depromere, animo ad commentandum et corrigendum prorsus obstinato, impendisset: de verbis ipsissimis Ciceronis, quæ auctoritatem secum afferrent maximam, aptèque positæ in Orationis serie, plurimum haberent venustatis. Nimirum, quod Middletonus paulò ambitiosius prædicat, sese et velle facere et debere, illud ipsum est summâ fide summâque arte à Bellendeno factum, jam inde ab ultimo principio operis, usque ad paginam extremam. Exstat Stephani Forcatuli 'De raptu animorum' Dialogus festivissimus, in quo 'alienæ inventionis prædones reprehendit.' Scripsit etiam Thomasius de plagiis literariis librum, cui, ut Morhofio* visum est, multa adjungi possunt. Horum utrumque librorum, prelo si quis denuò subjecerit, Middletono inuri eâdem infamiâ debebit, quæ Salmasio, quæ Lipsio, quæ Wouvrerio, aliisque plagiariis ingenio et doctrinâ eximiis, haud immeritò inusta est. At manes ejus, qui famæ Ciceronianæ custodem se adiutoremque egregium præstiterit, liceat mihi, verbis ex ipso Cicerone† depromptis, extremum alloqui, 'Satis hæc multa' de Middletono: 'ac sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore.'" — *Preface to Bellendus*, pp. 3—7.

NOTE D. Page 547.

The Bishop of Lincoln's "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian," contains much valuable matter on the subject of the cessation of the miraculous powers. At the end of the second chapter are some remarks from unpublished lectures of Dr. Hey. It is mentioned in the text that the discourse of Middleton "was thought to reflect so greatly on the authority of the fathers, that Christianity itself was endangered by the undertaking." Dr. Hey observes, on this part of the subject, "The authors on both sides of this question, concerning the reality of the miraculous powers in the primitive church, seem to have looked too far *before* them, and to have argued the point with too much regard to the *consequences* which were likely to follow from its being determined in this manner or in that. But why, in searching after the *truth*, should we give the least attention

* Morhof. Polyhistor. lib. i. cap. 5.

† Philipp. ii. p. 521. Edit. Gru.

to any *consequences* whatsoever? There are some miracles recorded in ecclesiastical history, which are too childish and ridiculous for *any one* to believe; and there are some indisputable records of the vices of the Christians, and more particularly of the clergy. The only difference is in the *degree* of this charge, or rather about the century with regard to which it ought to take place; but what difference can such a circumstance make in respect of the divine origin of Christianity?"* Upon the main question, neither Dr. Hey nor the bishop seem to differ greatly from Dr. Middleton. For instance, the bishop arrives at the following result, which, as it has been reached by calm and honest investigation, is stated with just and exemplary modesty: "To adopt the language of undoubting confidence on such a subject, would be a mark no less of folly than presumption; but I may be allowed to state the conclusion to which I have myself been led by a comparison of the statements in the book of Acts, with the writings of the fathers of the second century. My conclusion then is, that the power of working miracles was not extended beyond the disciples upon whom the apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands. As the number of these disciples gradually diminished, the instances of the exercise of miraculous powers became continually less frequent, and ceased entirely at the death of the last individual on whom the hands of the apostles had been laid. That event would, in the natural course of things, take place before the middle of the second century; at a time when, Christianity having obtained a footing in all the provinces of the Roman empire, the miraculous gifts conferred upon its first teachers had performed their appropriate office — that of proving to the world that a new revelation had been given from heaven. What then would be the effect produced upon the minds of the great body of Christians by their gradual cessation? Many would not observe, none would be willing to observe, for all must naturally feel a reluctance to believe that powers which had contributed so essentially to the rapid diffusion of Christianity were withdrawn.

"They who remarked the cessation of miracles would probably succeed in persuading themselves that it was only temporary, and designed by an all-wise Providence to be the prelude to a more abundant effusion of

* Eccl. Hist. Illust. &c. p. 163.

supernatural gifts upon the church. Or if doubts and misgivings crossed their minds, they would still be unwilling openly to state a fact which might shake the steadfastness of the friends, and would certainly be urged by the enemies of the Gospel as an argument against its divine origin. They would pursue the plan which has been pursued by Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Irenæus, &c.; they would have recourse to general assertions of the existence of supernatural powers, without attempting to produce a specific instance of their exercise. The silence of ecclesiastical history respecting the cessation of miraculous gifts in the church, is to be ascribed, not to the insensibility of Christians to that important event, but to the combined operation of prejudice and policy—of prejudice which made them reluctant to believe, of policy which made them anxious to conceal the truth.

“ Let me repeat, that I offer these observations with that diffidence in my own conclusions which ought to be the predominant feeling in the mind of every inquirer into the ways of Providence. I collect from passages already cited from the book of Acts, that the power of working miracles was conferred by the hands of the apostles only; and consequently ceased with the last disciple on whom their hands were laid. I perceive, in the language of the fathers who lived in the middle and end of the second century, when speaking on this subject, something which betrays, if not a conviction, at least a suspicion that the power of working miracles was withdrawn, combined with an anxiety to keep up a belief of its continuance in the church. They affirm in general terms, that miracles were performed, but rarely venture to produce an instance of a particular miracle. Those who followed them were less scrupulous, and proceeded to invent miracles, very different, indeed, in circumstances and character from the miracles of the Gospel, yet readily believed by men who were not disposed nicely to examine into the evidence of facts which they wished to be true. The success of the first attempts naturally encouraged others to practise similar impositions upon the credulity of mankind. In every succeeding age miracles multiplied in number and increased in extravagance, till, at length,* by their frequency, they lost all title to the name, since they could no longer be considered as deviations from the ordinary course of

* Gibbon, chap. xxviii. p. 99. Ed. 4to.

nature."—*Ecclesiast. Hist. Illustr. &c.* p. 98—102. These able remarks were pointed out to me by a learned friend, whose attainments as a scholar, whose integrity as a man, whose services as a theologian, and whose talents as a writer, make every enlightened member of the church wish to see him placed on the bench by the side of the historian of Tertullian. His political opinions have hitherto obstructed his advancement: let us hope the time may come when such an objection will cease to be urged against a deserving ecclesiastic, as it has *nearly* ceased to be an obstacle to the promotion of a deserving military or naval officer.

ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE BOOKS QUOTED
IN THIS VOLUME.

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE best information respecting the transactions of Europe during the reigns of the two first princes of the House of Brunswick is to be found in the works of Archdeacon Coxe. His Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Walpole, his History of the House of Austria, and his Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, contain much authentic history, attested by extracts from the despatches and letters of the ministers and ambassadors of the age. In the connecting narrative, the author exhibits great industry and application; he is a diligent and patient searcher after truth. His prejudices in favour of all persons in authority are too evident to be pernicious; his chief defect is a want of closeness both of thought and style, which makes him sometimes omit important documents, and leave the most interesting transactions in a haze of generalities.

Flassan, Histoire Générale et Raisonnée de la Diplomatie.

This is a most valuable work. Undertaken by a person well qualified for the task, it was carried on under the auspices of the imperial government of France. The edition I have used is in seven volumes 8vo, published at Paris in the year 1811.

Manstein, Memoirs of Russia.

Manstein was an officer in the Russian service, promoted for the part he took in the revolution which overthrew the power

of Biron. He was afterwards a general in the service of Prussia, and was killed in the war of 1756. His *Memoirs*, published at Lyons, describe the internal history of Russia, and her wars with the Porte, during the time in which he served, with the spirit of an eye-witness.

Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

The correspondence of the King of Prussia in early life with Voltaire is evidently much laboured. The *Histoire de mon Temps* contains the wars of Silesia from 1740 to 1745: the military transactions are clearly narrated, and made intelligible to readers ignorant of the art. In political matters, Frederick is naturally partial to his own cause, but seems more vain of his capacity than of his morality; so that, if he deviates from the truth, it is where his ability, rather than his honesty, is in need of defence.

Mémoires de Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse, Margrave de Bareith. 2 vols. 8vo.

The domestic history of the Court of Prussia, during the lifetime of the father of Frederic. The story is told with much prolixity, but many of the details are curious; that is to say, the names of the persons concerned give an interest to petty squabbles which would otherwise be dull and disgusting. See a caustic review of this work in No. XL. of the Edinburgh Review.

Lettres et Mémoires du Maréchal de Saxe.

A large bundle of papers, containing all the details of military movements during the command of Marshal Saxe. A life of the Marshal is prefixed. Published at Paris, 1794.

Bonamici, Commentarii de Bello Italico. 4 vols. small 4to.

This author was appointed historiographer of the republic of Genoa. He relates, in clear and not inelegant Latin, the Italian part of the war of the Austrian Succession from the battle of Velletri to the peace.

The correspondence of John, Duke of Bedford, when secretary of state, is preserved at Woburn Abbey, and has been consulted for the latter years of the war.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

Besides the Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole and Lord Walpole, the histories of the time, especially Tindal, and the parliamentary history, have been consulted. The *Walpoliana* contain a few anecdotes related by the Earl of Hardwicke, son of the chancellor. *The Reminiscences* of Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, condense, in a few pages, many amusing anecdotes. Like all gossip, they are undeserving of implicit faith, and the editor of Lady Suffolk's Letters labours hard to convict the author of inaccuracy. But, after all, in most instances he only shews some degree of improbability. To discuss the particular instances would lead to greater length than the reader would willingly tolerate.

The Lives of Clarke by Hoadly and Whiston; that of Pearce by his chaplain, the editor of his Commentary on the Four Evangelists; the Life of Hoadly, prefixed to his works; the Life of Warburton by Hurd; the Life of Wesley by Southey; and the Portraiture of Methodism by Nightingale, have been consulted

for the last chapter of this volume. *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, with the *Illustrations*, forming together thirteen octavo volumes, are, together, the best-furnished warehouse for all that relates to the history of divines and men of letters during the period here embraced.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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